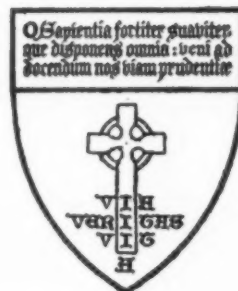


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Anglican Theological Review



EDITED BY

FREDERICK C. GRANT and BURTON S. EASTON

FOUNDED BY SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

VOLUME XXVIII

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THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND HISTORY

By LOUIS O'V. THOMAS

St. Andrew's Church, Jackson, Mississippi

This is the time of all times in which the parish priest must pay serious attention to the study of theology in all its branches. The pulpit today is no place in which to give book reviews or psychological essays, and if the preacher has that fatal sense of humor which, as one layman remarked, "lays 'em in the aisles," then Heaven help him and his people! The content of sermons must be doctrine, sound doctrine, solid stuff, intelligently conceived, and presented in a "language understood of the people." Many of those in our congregations have looked Death in the face; all of them are confronted with fundamental, basic issues of life. They are hungry sheep looking up to be fed, and we dare not try to satisfy them with pink lemonade. The effectiveness of the Church and the integrity of our ministry depend on how we face up to the great theological questions of the day, and how we present the fundamentals of the Christian faith.

One of the most important problems, if not indeed the outstanding question of our time, centers in the interpretation of history, and the meaning of the

Biblical phrase, "The Kingdom of God." How can we believe intelligently in the Kingdom of God when all around us we have seen the kingdom of Sin and Death reigning supreme? How can God be acting in history, how can God be the supreme ruler of the universe, how can His will be done on earth when our own age has witnessed the suffering and death of millions of innocent women and children? Is God concerned about history? This question is made more acute by the fact that the laity as a whole are unprepared to consider it fully. The historians of the past two hundred years have not been much concerned about God or religion, or the place of the spiritual in human life. They have made a false division of the record, separating the story of mankind into two compartments, one which they labelled "secular history," the other, "sacred history." Consequently, the intelligent layman thinks that the story of religion is a little brook which runs parallel to the main stream of history, and may even touch the main stream at certain points, but on the whole pursues its separate course. However, the war,

with the revolutions which preceded it and the social confusion which has accompanied it, has shaken this idea. We of the clergy are now being asked to set forth the Christian interpretation of history.

The term "history" must itself be defined, so here is a tentative definition:¹ "History" is a unique series of events, a genetic process which cannot be repeated, and of which the decisive moments are creative acts of individuals embodying values with a wide or universal appeal. There used to be a popular debate-subject which concerned itself with the question as to whether it is the times which produce the man or the man who shapes the times. This is a useless question, because the times and the man are both part of one great process. We say that so-and-so invented something, and his invention changed the course of history. Samuel Morse died thinking that he invented the telegraph, when the fact was that a dozen or more other men were working along the same lines as he was, and he never really knew what he thought up by himself and what was suggested to him by others. Inventions are social products. The world was ready for the telegraph. In somewhat the same way, we point out great leaders of thought and underline their contributions to human life, but they always come to a people prepared to receive them. Individuals do shape history, but they are themselves a part of that which they shape.

History, furthermore, must not be confused with mere change. The change has to be a significant change, something which affects the course of events or the

meaning of life.² History has been defined as being the remembered past, but it is more than that—it is the memorable past. An historical event is one after which we can say, "Things can never be the same again." A great deal has happened on the earth and in the heavens which was without significance. When I was a boy, people were greatly interested in Halley's comet, but nothing except some newspaper headlines happened as the result of the appearance of that phenomenon. Life went on just the same.

The phrase "the Kingdom of God" must also be defined. But first of all we must consider what it is not, and eliminate some false conceptions. The Kingdom of God is not to be confused with material prosperity, nor is it to be a condition of comfort for everyone. It is not a Utopia, where everything will be all right, a land flowing with milk and honey. Sometimes we confuse it with an ideal society based on Plato's Utopia, where all the questions are answered.³ But Plato made a basic error when he held that perfection means changelessness. There would be no change, and no need of change, because everything would be perfect. As a logical consequence of this error, Plato banned artists from his society, because an artist is never satisfied. The artist is a seeker after what is new, continually trying to express his ideas in a newer, better way, and could not be at home in a perfect society. When the finest picture has been painted, the finest poem written, the most beautiful statue carved, and the perfect symphony composed, there is no need for an artist. We would

¹ H. G. Wood, *Christianity and the Nature of History*, p. 9.

² *Ibid.*

³ J. MacMurray, *The Clue to History*, p. 109.

be in the position of the saints in the Apocalypse, casting down their golden crowns around the glassy sea. As someone irreverently remarked, a thousand years or so of that would be enough. Whatever the Kingdom may be, it is not a static but a dynamic state. It will surely not be a condition of eternal boredom, but will be at least a passing from strength to strength.

Paul Tillich expresses the idea of most writers on this subject when he says that the Kingdom of God is "the fulfillment intended in history."⁴ It is the end, the goal, the grand denouement, the summing up. As far as we human beings are concerned, it will always remain transcendent, because we are not God, but are only made in the image of Him, and consequently there will always remain manifestations of His love and goodness which we have not experienced, there will always be depths of spiritual reality which we have not explored. Furthermore, the Kingdom is eschatological in nature in that the fulfillment will come beyond the bounds of time and space as we know them. One can sympathize with B. H. Streeter's contention that in "the next world" there would be at least the moral equivalent of time and space, because that continuum is the framework of our existence. However, we know that if any one thing is sure, it is the fact that the life of man on this globe is definitely limited, and that the planet Earth is subject to the same laws as the other planets in the universe. There was a first man, and there will be a last man. The Christian belief is that in every historical event in the past and in the future there

is expressed a relationship to this ultimate fulfillment. History is a long road whose beginning is lost in the mists of the past and whose ending is hidden behind the veil of the future, but it is a road which is leading from somewhere to somewhere.

The question often arises as to the place of Christ in this process. Here one must disagree with the contention of Tillich and others that it makes no difference to Christianity whether or not the historical Jesus ever existed,⁵ since what counts is not the historical Jesus who may or may not have lived nineteen hundred years ago, but the picture of the Christ as drawn by the early Church. On the contrary, it would seem that the strength of Christianity lies in the fact that Jesus did live, and that the Incarnation was and is a fact of history and not merely a theo-philosophical concept drawn up to fill a need. But the question does arise as to the place of Jesus in the time-process. He lived twenty centuries ago, but we are fairly well convinced that the human race is as yet in its infancy. The hymn says, "Late in time behold Him come," whereas what concerns us is that He came so early. How can He, therefore, be the "center" of history? To this question two answers can be given. First of all, we do not know exactly how long man has been on this earth, and we know even less surely how long the life of man will last. We will not know how long "time" has lasted until we ourselves are beyond time. In the second place, we are misled in our thinking by the concept of "progress." The rationalist idea of progress, drawn from biological evolution, equates the latest in time with the

⁴ Paul Tillich, *The Interpretation of History*, p. 280.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

most important. Therefore, says the modernist, Jesus "may be superseded," just as Ptolemy and Newton and other thinkers have been superseded. But mechanical and moral progress are by no means similar in nature. For that matter, no one has yet superseded the principles of the lever and the wheel, on which all our mechanics are based. In the field of music, we find that composers may add new values without in any way superseding the old. Stravinsky and Gershwin have enriched music with new chord combinations and new applications of time and key, but they have not thereby rendered obsolete Bach and Beethoven or Tchaikowsky. The great classical composers laid bare the foundation principles in the symphony, and all that anyone else will be able to do will be to discover new applications of their basic principles. Jesus is not likely to be superseded, either, and insofar as the truth of religion and morality is more important than the emotive and interpretative power of music, so will His finality continue to be more significant than theirs. The progress of mankind in religion and morals can be a reality without in any way disturbing Christ's position of finality. We will build on His foundation structures of which He could not have dreamed, but the foundation will always be His, just the same.

Finally, the question arises as to our own relationship to this whole problem. Jesus said, "The kingdom of God is within you," or among you. God acts in history as the Creator of man. His intention is to create a universal community of persons, with freedom and equality as its structural principles. Jesus discovered this intention, and

found also that the evident intention of man in his own life was in large manner opposed to the intention of God. Therefore He took active steps to achieve a unification of these contrary intentions. Realizing that the sin of man was too deep-seated to be eradicated even in His own lifetime, He founded the Church, the *ekklesia*, the society whose intention was and is to establish the Kingdom of God on earth. Freedom lies at the base of the divine community, so therefore the Church had to be free, and whenever the Church on earth is opposed to the cause of freedom and justice, the Church is to that extent failing, and must be brought back to a realization of her true position. We are the bearers of Christ's intention.

When we read history, we find that invariably the man or nation which tries to oppose the will of God ends by carrying out that will. The Jews were a chosen people who developed the noblest conception of God the ancient world knew. Jesus came and tried to teach them that their mission was to carry the knowledge of God to the whole world. The Jews replied by rejecting Christ and crucifying Him. Yet in less than fifty years they were scattered over the face of the earth, a people without a country, a nation only by virtue of religion and race, and from the Jewish communities which dotted the Roman Empire there came in almost every instance the nucleus of the Christian Church. In spite of themselves, the Jews did more to convert the world to Christ than any other group of people. Or take a modern instance. Hitler set out to conquer the world because a fascist regime must expand or die. In so doing, Hitler had to suppress Chris-

tianity, because the Christian is primarily the child of God and only secondarily a unit in the state; he had to persecute the Jews, for Judaism is the direct antithesis of that community of blood and soil which fascism represents; and he had to war on Russia, for beneath the official atheism of Russia there has always been a spirit of faith which fascism cannot abide. Well, Hitler is dead—we trust—but Niemoeller still preaches Christ; the Jews still flourish, and the Russian army occupies Berlin. Furthermore, Hitler himself, by destroying orderly government in Europe, turned Europe into the most fertile field for communism on earth. A man could hardly have come more nearly accomplishing the opposite of what he intended than did Hitler. What God thinks of communism as an economic system, only time will tell, but it is surely undeniable that God used the Russians to carry out His will. What defeated Hitler was his misuse of power; and the will to power, the use of power to gain power, is always self-defeating.

In teaching the disciples to pray, our Lord said, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven." That was not only a petition, but also a statement of fact. Here in the life of the individual and of the nation, God's will is being done on earth as it is in heaven. For many ages we have put our trust in our own wisdom and strength rather than in God, but that has only hurt us, and has not defeated Him. We worshipped man, so our

finest young people have died by the millions on the battle-field, victims of the sinful will to power of the dictators, and victims also of our own greed and self-interest. We worshipped material progress, so in six years we have destroyed an incalculable quantity of the material resources of the earth, shortening the life of man on this planet by centuries. Surely this is the judgment of the nations, brought upon man by the misuse of his freedom, the denial of God's will in this world. But God will not be denied, not now, nor ever. The Kingdom is coming but we will determine our own place in it by what we do—whether we oppose the will of God or act in harmony with it.

The history of the world, and the story of the Church in the world, reads like a tragedy, especially if viewed one section at a time. But the historian must perpetually remind himself of the long run. We must never be confused by the glamour of immediate success or prosperity. On the contrary, the collapse of a civilization may well be a sign that God is still acting, and that the collapse came because the rulers of that civilization forgot about God. At different periods, the Church has occupied different positions, and often enough she has been most effective when she seemed most despised. However, her mission, now as always, is to call the people of the earth to faith and repentance, and go on bravely to the end, which though wrapped in mystery, we believe is sure and certain.

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN ANGLICAN TRADITION

By ROSE PHELPS

Hackensack, New Jersey

ENGLAND

A Queen of England (Britha, 2d century) introduced Christianity into England long before Pope Gregory saw his "Angels"; a Queen of England (Katharine of Aragon) was one of the precipitating causes of the English Reformation; a Queen of England (Mary) "made the Papacy henceforward for ever impossible in England"; a Queen of England (Elizabeth) is called by Thomas Vowler Short, D.D., once Bishop of Sodor and Man, "the real foundress of the English Episcopal Church as it now exists"; a Queen of England returned to the Church for the benefit of poor clergy the first fruits and tenths originally imposed to prosecute the Holy Wars and seized by Henry VIII (Queen Anne's Bounty); a Queen of England (Victoria) sent the first missionary to Hawaii at the request of Queen Emma. A peeress (Margaret, Countess of Richmond, grandmother of Henry VIII) established the Lady Margaret professorships of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge.

Apart from the queens, English history has little to say of women taking any serious part in the life and tradition of the Church until Hannah More burst into prominence. Let us pause for only two, a martyr and a murderess(?).

Anne Askew (1521-1546), a favorite of Queen Katharine Parr, at her first trial was rebuked by the bishop's chan-

cellor "because she, a woman, did declare God's word and the Holy Scripture, which Paul had forbidden to women to speak." This dreadful charge Anne countered by asking, "Why reprovost thou what King Solomon praiseth in his proverbs, saying that a woman of understanding who speaks in few words and discreetly, is an especial gift of God?"

At her second trial, when ordered to confess that the Sacrament contained "Christ's body, flesh, blood and bones," Anne replied with spirit: "It is a shameful thing to which you advise me: to say what you yourself do not believe," and later, "I deny it utterly and finally, for God's Son, born of Mary, according to the Christian creed reigns in heaven and will return in like manner as he ascended thither. I do not deny that the Sacrament should receive all proper reverence, but because ye with your superstition transgress and make it a god and show it divine honor I say it is but bread, and prove it by this token: if you keep your god three months in a chest, letting it be, it will mould and rot and at last wholly perish. Is that a god that cannot endure three months?"

Racked until death was near, spurning Royal letters promising life if she would recant, she was carried in a chair to the London Horse Market, bound with iron chains to a post and burned. Five years later Chancellor Wriothesley

who, Anne wrote, with his own hands had screwed her rack, endangered himself with Queen Mary by rejection of transubstantiation.

"There cannot be a doubt," wrote James Gairdner,¹ "that the memory of this woman's sufferings and of her extraordinary fortitude and heroism added strength to the Protestant reaction under Edward VI. The account of her martyrdom published by Bale in Germany, Strype tells us, was publicly exposed for sale at Winchester in 1549, in reproach of Bishop Gardiner, who was believed "... to have been a great cause of her death."

Of another ilk was Frances Howard, daughter of Lord Chamberlain Suffolk, who at the age of thirteen was married to the Earl of Essex, also thirteen, son of Queen Elizabeth's favorite. The bridegroom, considered too young to enter upon marital life, was sent first to the university, then traveling. Meanwhile Frances, leading a merry life at court, became infatuated with Viscount Rochester, King James's current favorite. Such a public scandal did this affair become that the King himself urged a divorce upon Lady Essex. "Indeed, the odious circumstances which attended the divorce of Lady Essex, that she might be bestowed on her paramour Rochester, brought equal disgrace in the eyes of the people upon the king who urged the divorce in the most unkingly manner, and upon the Ecclesiastical Court which declared it. The royal profligate, in pandering to an adulterous connexion, dared to tell Archbishop Abbot, who opposed the disgraceful process, 'The best thankfulness that you, that are so far my creature, can use

towards me, is to reverence and follow my judgment and not to contradict it' " "2

On Sunday, St. Stephen's Day, 1613, the eighth anniversary of her first marriage, again in the King's Chapel, Frances, Lady Essex, was again given by the King in marriage, the ceremony being again performed by the same Bishop of Bath and Wells. The nuptial sermon was preached by the Dean of Westminster, its gist being commendation of the young couple, "glancing also at the place of the bride's mother, whom he styled the *mother-vine*." The wife of a bishop presented the bride-cake and Bacon spent £2000 on "The Masque of Flowers," in which flattering words issued from the mouths of hyacinths and jonquils. Even Donne wrote an eclogue for the occasion. The trial of this happy couple two years later for murder,³ complete with potions, waxen figures, a black scarf full of white crosses, a piece of human skin, lies outside our present topic.

Skipping lightly over Sir John Evelyn's pious Mrs. Godolphin; Lady Betty Hastings (Congreve's "Divine Aspasia") and her many charities, including the Hastings exhibition at Queens College; Esther Vanhomrigh (Swift's "Vanessa"), and her gift to Dean Berkeley for a College of St. Paul in Bermuda to train clergy for the colonies; Hannah Ball and her Sunday school in High Wycombe, 1769; Mrs. Sarah Trimmer and her pleas for Sunday schools and for the distinctively Church character of what professed to be

² "The Favorites of King James I" in *Royal Favorites*, by Sutherland Menzies.

³ Samuel R. Gardiner flatly dubs Frances "murderess" (*Dict. of National Biography*) though she pled guilty and was acquitted.

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Church schools, making such a noise that the Queen sent for her to aid in starting a Sunday school at Windsor; we arrive at Hannah More, greatest of them all.

Born 1745, daughter of the headmaster of the local grammar school, by the age of twenty Hannah had translated Metastasio's *Regulus* and dramatized it with the title *The Inflexible Captive*. Literary London opened its arms to the gifted young author. Visiting the Garricks, she met all the great, wrote more plays, was elected to the French Academy. But the falsity and immorality of society sickened her, and at 42 she retired to the country, thereafter visiting the Bishop of London (Porteus) and his wife and other friends from time to time, turning more and more to religion. Her severe "Estimation of the Religion of the Fashionable World" (1790) was widely read. Ten years later, "at the earnest request of a dignitary of the Church," she produced "Hints towards Forming the Character of a Young Princess" (Princess Charlotte), considered by some her prose masterpiece.

Meanwhile William Wilberforce, the abolitionist, on a visit to the More sisters, had taken what proved a historic walk through the town of Cheddar. Appalled by the ignorance, vice and misery found there and in the thirteen neighboring parishes, he encouraged Hannah to start her famous system of Sunday schools and schools of industry. "My object," she wrote, "is not to make fanatics but to train up the lower classes in habits of industry and piety." Her curriculum was based on "The Christian Catechism," the Psalter, the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer. The Sermon on the Mount was generally learned, the Collect for the day always. Little chil-

dren repeated some of Watts' hymns. Parents came on Sunday evenings to hear prayers and simple sermons, to accept Bibles, Testaments, prayer books.

Space is wanting here to detail the tremendous social effects of these schools, the opposition to them, the accusations against the More sisters, the tributes from bishops and educators, the requests from other parts of the country for advice in setting up similar schools, the sale of millions of Hannah's "Cheap Repository Tracts," written for the schools and sent to every quarter of the globe. Scholars may disagree as to whether she saved England from its own version of the French Revolution: none who reads the record can deny that she did a great and valuable service to her country and her Lord. Dying, her last word was, "Joy!"

The nineteenth century saw a tremendous awakening of social conscience, stemming in part no doubt from Hannah More. Women played an active part. Baroness Burdett-Coutts built St. Stephen the Martyr and its school, put up model houses in Bethnal Green to replace unspeakable slums, gave active aid in the cholera epidemic, the Shoeblack Brigade, forming the SPCC, and endowed three colonial bishoprics. Agnes Weston taught religion to sailors, established the Portsmouth Sailors Rest.

Urged by Pusey and Newman, Jane Ellacombe and Mary Bruce founded a Sisterhood in 1845 under a severe Rule by Pusey, "to relieve distress wherever it may be found." At Bishop Philpotts' request, Priscilla Lydia Sellon in 1848 established the House of Sisters of Mercy in Devonshire, which ran a "school for starving children," an orphanage, a home for superannuated sailors, lodging houses for poor families,

soup kitchens, an industrial school, and other institutions. Other Sisterhoods followed, with temperance societies, hospitals, orphanages, schools.

The Order of Deaconesses was revived in 1862. So completely have they proved their worth that the 1920 Lambeth Conference permitted them to lead Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany, "except such portions as are assigned to the Priest only . . . to instruct and exhort the congregation in consecrated and unconsecrated buildings" when "duly qualified by the Bishop." The Archbishops' Commission on the Ministry of Women (1935) declared: "In our opinion it should be recognized that a deaconess is in Holy Orders and that the grace of Orders is bestowed upon her by the Holy Spirit through the laying on of hands with prayer. This Order should not be regarded as equivalent with the diaconate of men, but rather as the one existing Holy Order for women." With all due respect, the practical mind cannot but wonder on what scale the Commission measures "the grace of Orders . . . bestowed . . . by the Holy Spirit." Kilograms? Shillings? Yards? Foot-pounds?

Since World War I, England has been constantly considering ways of making women more useful in the work of the Church, with somebody always popping up to quote St. Paul's interdiction, made under quite different circumstances, of women's speaking in church (I Cor. 12: 34), though Paul apparently accepted as normal their praying and prophesying (I Cor. 11: 5). One wonders too if these objectors themselves wear birettas in church (I Cor. 11: 4 and 7). Even conservative England recognizes that women's place in

society has, for secular reasons, altered since St. Paul's day. Canon Raven is said to have observed some years ago that he was interested to note that "the three greatest names in the Church of England today are those of women: Evelyn Underhill, Muriel Lester, Maude Royden." Maude Royden was permitted to officiate not by ordaining her but by licensing the building, the City Temple, itself! The Bishop of Hong Kong was more straightforward.

William of Ockham in 1300, disgusted with the corruption of the popes, suggested a council or parliament to govern the Church of England without reference to the papacy, and urged the inclusion of women "since the business of the Church is to save souls and they too have souls to save." The Committee appointed by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury in 1942 fully agrees. They note the difference between the position of women with respect to responsibility and leadership in the secular world and in the Church, the "increasing criticism and discontent, not only among the younger women but also among both men and women of the younger generation. . . . This, we believe, will harden into bitterness and alienation if there is no change of attitude in ecclesiastical circles." With a shortage of clergy in the years ahead, they find that the "outlook is bleak unless the Church is prepared to use the services of women more extensively, and to give to well-qualified women positions of responsibility and leadership comparable with those open to them in the social, professional and civil services."

THE UNITED STATES

In this country women's influence in the Church has been exercised largely

through the Woman's Auxiliary. Of those whose names stand out in our national history—Abigail Adams, Anne Hutchinson, Margaret Fuller, Jessie B. Fremont, Clara Barton, Frances Willard, Emma Willard—only one was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Emma Willard inaugurated the Church's first overseas missionary project in 1833, a training school for teachers in Athens. "A Greek statesman, pointing to the Parthenon, said to Mrs. Hill," who was in charge of the school, "'Lady, you are erecting in Athens a memorial more enduring and more noble than yonder temple.'"

At that time Miss Willard had already made herself known both here and abroad by her active efforts to assure girls the opportunity for genuine education, though difficulties abounded. Submission of her plan to replace the usual curriculum of embroidery, painting, making ornaments of wax and silk, by a program including history, mathematics, philosophy, science, so stirred the majority of the New York Legislature in 1819 that they "ridiculed and bitterly attacked what they considered interference with God's will for women." They evidently agreed with Mrs. Malaprop: "'You thought, miss!' cried Mrs. Malaprop. 'I don't know any business you have to think at all—thought does not become a young woman.'"

Perhaps one reason for the silence of women in early days lay in the character of the clergy, both here and in England. Queen Elizabeth "issued a special command that no clergyman should presume to espouse a servant-girl without the consent of her master or mistress." In Queen Anne's time also the chaplain of a noble house was not considered fit to

eat dessert with the family, though he must stand by to thank God for it after dinner. If a bachelor, he was expected to marry the lady's maid.

Here in America, "a large proportion of the Southern clergy were adventurers, broken men, valets who had secured ordination from some complaisant Bishop through the interest of their masters for whom they had done some questionable favor. . . . A love-letter still survives written by a Maryland clergyman to a planter's daughter, in which he argues at length that inasmuch as his suit was allowable on other grounds, the fact of his being in Orders ought not to be an insuperable barrier." Another "bawled out to his churchwarden at the Holy Communion, 'Here, George, this bread is not fit for a dog.'" In the north, however, priests of better stamp could be found, partly because the Puritan minister in Massachusetts "was a petty potentate, the chiefest man in the county, the censor of morals, the stern disciplinarian."⁴

When the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society was founded in 1820, its membership included all members of the Church at \$3 or more. The following year the Board of Directors was authorized to establish auxiliary societies. At the first Triennial Meeting, 1823, eleven societies had already started work, eight of which were "Female Auxiliary Missionary Societies." 1826 saw twenty-four more.

At the General Convention of 1850, Bishop Alonzo Potter asked for a committee of five bishops "to consider and report at the next General Convention some plan by which the services of in-

⁴ *History of the American Episcopal Church*, by S. D. McConnell, pp. 89, 91.

telligent and pious persons of both sexes may be secured to the Church in the education of the young, the relief of the sick and destitute, the care of orphans and friendless immigrants, and the reformation of the vicious." Apparently nothing happened. The subject came up again in 1862, 1865, 1868, 1871 when it boiled over in recommendations for establishing Parochial Sisterhoods, the Order of Deaconesses, a Ladies' (or Woman's) Auxiliary Missionary Society. The Woman's Auxiliary got under way at once. Three years later the Sisterhood of St. Mary was founded, absorbing some Sisters from the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion organized in 1845 at the Church of the Holy Communion in New York and working there only. Other Sisterhoods followed until at present fifteen are listed, all of them engaged in teaching, social work, missions, or in all three, except the Poor Clares of Reparation and Adoration, founded "for the life and work of prayer."

The Order of Deaconesses was held up until 1889. Names of 166 Deaconesses appear in the 1946 *Living Church Annual*.

The Girls Friendly Society followed in 1877, Daughters of the King in 1885. For reasons of space we must neglect all these smaller groups in favor of a few quick glances at the main stream.

Adult stature, though still somewhat puny, was attained by the Woman's Auxiliary in 1920 when the Board of Missions was transformed into the National Council and four seats were assigned to the Auxiliary. Since then it has grown within itself. For instance, the Board of Missions reported to the General Convention of 1874 that the Auxiliary had been formed "for the pur-

pose of raising money, forwarding boxes, and otherwise helping on the mission of the Church." "Boxes" meant clothes and toys to missionaries. Today, in a brief résumé entitled *Development of Woman's Work in the Episcopal Church* (n.d. but recent), the Auxiliary describes itself as "an international, interracial fellowship of the women of the Church organized for the service of the Church in every phase of its life and in all fields of its activity." The devotion and notable abilities of its four Executive Secretaries, Miss Mary A. Emery (later Mrs. Twing), Miss Julia C. Emery, Miss Grace Lindley, and now Mrs. Arthur M. Sherman, account in large part for the sound growth of the Woman's Auxiliary from a few scattered groups of charitable women to a great, inclusive organization training and sending out to other continents, as well as to all parts of this country and its possessions, teachers and missionaries; administering in the triennial ended 1943 over a million dollars, fostering the devotional life and the social conscience of thousands of women.

Glancing through a few years' files of *The Spirit of Missions*, one is surprised by the continual clamor from the mission fields for women workers and teachers. Anglican women have won their spurs in missions, to the eternal gratitude of those among whom they have worked. The *Epics* series describes the work of many in China, Texas, Puerto Rico, Liberia, Mexico, Virgin Islands, Alaska, Japan, Hawaii, as well as at home. Some, like Miss Mary Elizabeth Wood, who brought libraries to China, or like Miss Mary Cornwall Legh, who brought cleanliness and hope and "the radiant life of the Church" to lepers in Kusatsu, Japan, have become

famous. Their influence, their service to the Church, cannot be measured: how much less can we estimate the effect of the nameless army of women who in every field have ministered to women and children and led them into the Church.

How many women work for the Church in this country, and what do they do? The Report of the National Council's Committee on Salary Standards and Pensions for Women Workers (1945) declares that "nearly 4,000 women are now employed in various capacities by the Church. Of these about 500 are members of Religious Orders. . . . Slightly more than 300 are employed by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. Of these some 135 are in Overseas Missionary Districts. . . . Another group of nearly 100 are employed by the Missionary Society at the Church Missions House. . . . The remaining group of nearly 3,000 women are employed by Dioceses, Parishes and other Church organizations in all parts of the United States."

The 1946 *Living Church Annual* lists names of "directors and advisors of Christian education in parishes, dioceses and provinces; parish and diocesan workers; college workers; evangelists and missionary workers appointed by the National Council; national executives, field and personnel workers" (but not parish secretaries and such) to the number of 375. The number of employed women who may have escaped these dragnets, and the number of women volunteers doing work of real value to the Church, we decline either to seek out or to estimate, though it seems safe to assume that far more women than men serve the Church.

Women give more money too. In the

years 1938-1942 inclusive, 36 men gave \$297,174.92, while 203 women provided \$777,406.79.

Perhaps it is only just that women should give more service and more money to the Church: the Census Bureau estimated that on July 1, 1945, the number of U. S. women exceeded the number of men, including those in the armed forces overseas, by 6,000!

PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

Although historians tend to mention women as infrequently as possible, wide and acute research, such as that of Mrs. Mary R. Beard in her *Woman as a Force in History*, shows that women too have shaped civilization. As mothers and homekeepers before the days of delicatessens and department stores, they obviously had fewer opportunities than men to impress their names on history; today, when they have proved their ability to perform satisfactorily all of men's work except the heaviest labors such as mining and logging, when they have shown again and again intellectual power equal and sometimes in given groups superior to men's, the time is ripe for serious consideration of women's place in society and in the Church.

In early times, under various names, woman was worshipped everywhere as Mother Earth. "Priestcraft developed in and around the temples dedicated to goddesses, and women sometimes made it a big business. . . . Men, however, were not obtuse to the values of priestcraft and men made their way into the profession. Eventually they proved exceedingly adept in emphasizing the importance of males elevated to the status of gods. . . . The trend to masculine priestcraft was strengthened by priestly literature largely composed by men. . . .

In Christendom priests labored with might and main to uphold the authority of the Father God and His Son as against the long tradition of Mother and Son. But the strength of the mother-tradition was so tenacious that it could not be crushed. While the papacy forbade women to participate officially in the highest rites of the Church, the people-at-large and many priests insisted on paying their tribute of worship to Mary, the Mother of God."⁵

Whence came then the opinion held by many men and women that women are inferior to men? Canon Grensted thinks it "has its background in infantile conceptions."⁶ Does difference of function automatically set up difference in value? Is an apple worth more than a peach? Are men jealous of women's abilities?

In England and the United States Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Common Law of England* (first volume 1765) have had notable effect on women's position. Devoted to the common law to the almost complete exclusion of its correctives in equity, jurisprudence, and legislation, Blackstone underlined "the fiction that women were, historically, members of a subject sex—'civilly dead,'—their very being suspended during marriage and their property, along with their bodies, placed under the dominion of their respective 'lords' or 'barons.'"⁷ This fiction was perhaps strengthened by the industrial revolution which, as Studdert

Kennedy points out, took much of women's work out of the home to plant it in factories. Made a legal nonentity by Blackstone's probably unintentional deception, women were now made industrial nonentities. With law, industry and the Church staring down long noses at them, no wonder English and American women looked down on themselves.

While the Woman's Auxiliary is recognized as invaluable, the services of women in this country seem to be grudgingly accepted as desirable only in the absence of men willing or able to teach Sunday school (the Division of Christian Education estimates that 75 per cent. of Sunday school teachers are women), manage the details of conferences, live and teach in rural areas, do social work, dress the altar, and so on. Let us grant at once that economic reasons prevent men with families from doing much of the work that women do in the Church, but let us grant also that Blackstone, and Thomas Aquinas too, have done their part in lowering women in men's eyes.

Thus, though women were last at the cross and first at the grave, though women were priests before men, men have for centuries considered the priesthood their own prerogative except in the Free Churches. Episcopalian men prefer Thomas Aquinas's dictum, that Holy Orders cannot be conferred on a woman simply because she is a woman,⁸ to Canon Raven's and Canon Streeter's contention that women are no less children of God than men and as such, when properly qualified, should be permitted

⁵ *Woman as a Force in History*, pp. 277, 278. By permission of The Macmillan Co., publishers.

⁶ *Report of the Archbishops' Commission on the Ministry of Women*, Appendix 1.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 85. By permission of The Macmillan Co., publishers.

⁸ A letter to *The Church Times* (August 11, 1944) quotes Fr. Irving, former vicar of All Saints, Clevedon: "Madam, you are no more capable of being ordained a priest than I am of having a baby."

to receive ordination. The Bishop of Hong Kong scandalized the Church by ordaining Deaconess Lei Tim Oi priest, though to minds not weighted by prejudice or tradition his action seemed under the circumstances the best way to serve the Church and its people. Furthermore, if Miss Lei had already received Holy Orders as a Deaconess and if in her twelve years of service after graduation from Union Theological College she had shown herself to be a true apostle, why should she not at need be "advanced" to the priesthood? Does not the question of measurement enter here again?

The 3,308 women pastors in this country (1940 Census) have not apparently wrecked their various denominations, nor have their English sisters. Indeed, the English Methodists are even now setting up a training college for women pastors. When qualified women are prepared to take posts in poor rural districts, for example, at salaries such as men cannot accept, has the Church the right to deny its people the services of a priest? The question hinges not on what other branches of the Church may think but on the will of God and the calling of the Holy Spirit. Does the Church's refusal spring from an honest belief that a woman priest would wound the Body of Christ? From a feeling that women are inferior for biological reasons, from Grensted's "infantile conceptions," from mental laziness that delights to swing softly in the hammock of Christian tradition, or from an often unrecognized fear that admission of women to the priesthood would eliminate some unworthy men?

In one diocese, so strong is the opposition to women that a distinguished Church woman, official delegate to vari-

ous international Church conferences, was denied the opportunity to speak at the eleven o'clock service in an unconsecrated cathedral. There was gnashing of teeth, though not by the woman herself. The gravest result of the exclusion cannot be described without identifying the diocese.

On the other hand, women have been sent to represent the Church at Oxford and Edinburgh and at other great conferences; women may serve on vestries in some 30 dioceses; women have been appointed chaplain's assistants here and in Canada, and England appointed a former Church of Scotland missionary to India as a woman army chaplain to serve in Germany. "Meeting for the first time since 1939, the Provincial Synod of the Anglican Church of South Africa has voted to allow women to become eligible for membership. The 124-16 vote reversed a stand made on a similar resolution at the last provincial synod."⁹ The Diocese of New Hampshire desires the same. The Diocese of California at its 1944 Convention passed a canon demanding one woman delegate and one woman alternate from every parish or mission to every diocesan convention. Missouri has elected a woman Deputy to the next General Convention.

Many a bad boy has been reclaimed by having responsibility laid on him: it seems reasonable to suppose that to give women (not necessarily bad ones!) responsibility in and for the Church they serve would not only call forth a larger measure of the devotion and faithfulness they have always shown, but would tap undreamed-of interest, understanding, enthusiasm, power. Every reader

⁹ *The Living Church*, December 16, 1945.

knows some parish where, lacking leadership, the women of the Woman's Auxiliary seem to feel that while they must somehow follow the program and "do whatever the rector wants," their hands fill a few boxes for the Red Cross while their tongues drip gossip and their hearts and minds linger in a vacuum. The Church goes on without their participation; they feel no responsibility for its deepening or its growth; they find no incentive to learn what the Church's basic purpose is and has always been, nor to bring others in to share the poor dull inert thing they find Church life to be. Instead they rush to secular welfare organizations, gobble up work and responsibility, perform miracles for community betterment. Let the Church ponder these proceedings, exemplified in many a town.

"Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Six suggestions for action in the Protestant Episcopal Church may be offered:

1. Let every vestry accept as full members at least two women, one to represent the Woman's Auxiliary, the other a "member-at-large" committed to no special program in the parish.

2. Let every diocese elect at least one woman as Deputy to each General Convention, representing not the Woman's Auxiliary but the diocese itself. Should not 60 per cent. of the members of the Church have a voice in determining canons and policies?

3. Let women serve as lay readers wherever such are needed and suitable men do not offer themselves.

4. Let women enter all the Church's theological seminaries, as full-time students for the B.D. or a higher degree, or as part-time students taking courses

of special use to them in their work. Is it not odd that the only way a woman can take a course at General Theological Seminary is by entering through the back door via Union Theological Seminary? If women are to continue to build the Church (remember the 75 per cent. of Sunday school teachers) why should they not be allowed to learn what they are building and why? There would be gain too in their studying together with future clergy—a gain to both men and women.

5. Let the General Convention or the Presiding Bishop appoint a commission of bishops, priests, laymen, laywomen, to consider the ordination of women both theoretically and practically and prepare a report for presentation at the Lambeth Conference of 1948.

6. Let General Convention lay squarely on the Woman's Auxiliary responsibility for bringing new members into the Church. In its steady support of missionaries and missionary education, the Auxiliary has long labored at this task, though not by drawing on the energies and practical skill of members in local parishes, and is equipped to carry it out through every branch in every parish. Lacking the definite authority and encouragement of the whole Church as embodied in General Convention, women in many if not most parishes naturally feel that dragging in the unchurched from highways and byways is the rector's prerogative and that a campaign set off by themselves without his express request would black his eye.

Certainly if this responsibility were clearly theirs, if all the resources of the Woman's Auxiliary were drawn on to make women feel its enormous practical and social importance, if bishops and rectors counted on their efforts, if clear,

illuminating theological and technical guides were supplied, who shall deny that in ten years the Church might find membership doubled and a four-fold increase in enthusiastic, intelligent devotion?

If the Church is to speed her growth in truth, in grace, in numbers, let her call on her "devoted women not a few" to share with men the responsibility, the pains, the joys of toiling to "make straight in the desert a highway for our God."

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QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. After noting the Church's duty to make "practical arrangements with legal principles in mind," the Rev. Sherman E. Johnson writes: "But surely the New Testament can teach us that these matters are not of the essence of Christianity. Such notions as the *validity* of ministries and sacraments are foreign to the mind of Christ and God. God's interest is only in empowering men to bring his saving truth and grace to others."

What bearing has this statement on the ordination of women?

2. Bishop Westcott is reported to have said that we shall never fully understand the Gospel according to St. John until India is Christianized. May it not be equally true that the full import of Christianity will not be understood until women's interpretation has been not only clearly expressed but given equal weight with men's? The masculine mind tends toward impersonal things, impersonal abstractions,

laws, fighting, upholding "honor"—whatever is meant by that controversial and ill-defined word. Women's minds are more concerned with personal relationships, with the paramount importance of human beings as against laws, ideas, or commerce. Would not the Church benefit by fuller recognition of the value of women's fidelity to the teaching of Jesus in the practical, unsentimental cherishing and developing of individuals?

3. The Church of England is planning to establish a training college for women Church workers. Would such an institution be of value in this country? If so, what should its curriculum cover?

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ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις

(ACTS xxvi. 28)

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The editors of the new Revised Standard Version were right in rejecting the translation "almost," for there is not a single example of such a connotation in the whole range of Greek literature; but their conception of the signification of ἐν ὀλίγῳ is equally erroneous. The Greeks conceived time as quantity, not duration. Hence "in a short time" is an incorrect rendering. Moreover, Paul obviously understands the phrase differently, for he adds καὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ, whereas he would have said καὶ ἐν πολλῷ, if he intended to express the idea "in a long time." I can recall but one example of ὁ μέγας χρόνος, a highly poetic expression, which occurs in the *Ajax* of Sophocles, where it means "this great sweep of time."

The first three words of Agrippa's utterance and the last two are indubitably sound, for corresponding (only more emphatic) terms are employed by Paul in his reply. (Even ποιῆσαι reappears in γενέσθαι, regularly used as the passive

of this verb throughout Greek literature). Relictum est πείθεις (the reading of the best manuscript), that is, the finite verb. Consequently, it is here that the corruption of the text is to be sought: in this verb the original surely lurks.

The first syllable of πείθεις, I think, is the remnant of an original ἐπι, which the copyist inadvertently wrote με πι (misdivision of syllables). This left a truncated πείθεις, which seemed somehow to fit in the context, seemed to make sense.

Before discussing the rest of the mutilated verb, let me cite a similar instance of misdivision. During the war a Latin cablegram from Rome to Ecuador was teletyped from Washington to me as language consultant in the office of censor. This cablegram did not make sense, and I had to recite it aloud several times before I recognized the fact that the initial letter of one word had been switched to the preceding word and the final letter of another word had been attached to its successor.

Experiments on a group of students by the Better Vision Institute showed that typewritten sheets with omitted letters, wrong letters and blurred letters could not be read with accuracy. The average reader detected only 40 per cent of the omission of letters. Accidents of negligence in copying have sometimes led to grave results. Nevins, in his *Gateway To History*, says: "In 1912 the misprinting of a single word produced a serious political issue. The official Democratic Textbook declared against 'The Aldrich plan for a central bank.' But on referring to the records the leaders discovered that they had condemned 'The Aldrich plan or a central bank.'" How easy it is for the omission of a letter to escape the notice of even trained experts is seen in an advertisement which appeared once in a standard magazine—the celebrated Steinway Piano was declared to be, not the Instrument Immortal, but the Instrument Immoral!

What Agrippa really said to Paul can be gathered, I think, from the latter's reply, since his *καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ* takes up and answers the former's *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* while his *σέ* corresponds to *μέ* and *οἶος καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι* to *Χριστιανόν*, and finally *γενέσθαι* is the counterpart of *ποιῆσαι*. Only the finite verb is left, and this Paul

reenforces with *ἐνχαίμην ἂν τῷ θεῷ*. So what could it be but *ἐπιθυμεῖς*? The scribe saw only *πιθ'* *ὕμεις* (the first syllable *με* having been appropriated by the preceding *με*) or *πιθεθ'* *ὕμεις* (he thought) and changed the plural to the singular (*πιθεις*). Or, he simply dropped the medial letters *υμ* inadvertently. Certainly some verb like "want" is wanted: *You would make me a Christian in small* (measure), *un peu, un poco, ein bischen*, or in more archaic and poetic language: *Thou wouldst fain make me a Christian somewhat*, certainly something a great Caesarian would be more likely to say than to confess that he had been converted to Christianity in such short order, especially when he is speaking to one who has been brought before him with handcuffs on as a prisoner at the bar. The editors of the newest version of the New Testament appear to have sensed the need of some such verb as I have suggested, for they translate: "You think to make."

Many years ago the tentative emendation of *πέποιθας* occurred to me. But a copyist would be more likely to misread *μεπιθυμεις* and write *με πιθεις*. Hence I think the correction *ἐπιθυμεις* is plausible, if not probable, and merits the consideration of New Testament scholars.

POLYCARP OF SMYRNA

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The importance of Polycarp of Smyrna for the study of early Christian life in second century cannot easily be overestimated. It was he who collected the Ignatian epistles; he was "the teacher of Asia," as his martyr-acts proclaims; and he was the link which bound Irenaeus and the church after him to the Johannine tradition of Asia Minor. He provides valuable testimony to the writings of the New Testament which were accepted in Asia in his time. And as a conservative traditionalist, he is proof that the church in his day was to a considerable extent undergoing organic development, not catastrophic change.

I. THE PERSONALITY OF POLYCARP

The facts of Polycarp's life are few and can be briefly set forth.¹ Born about the time of the destruction of

Jerusalem, of Christian parents, he comes on the stage of Christian history in the early decades of the second century, when Ignatius of Antioch, on his way across Asia Minor to Rome, visits Smyrna and later writes one or two letters to Polycarp and to the church of Smyrna. He urges the Smyrneans to avoid docetism, the heresy which denied the reality of Jesus' life, death, and resurrection, and to follow the bishop "as Jesus Christ follows the Father." They are not to celebrate the Eucharist apart from him or from someone whom he appoints.² "It is good to know God and the bishop. He who honors the bishop has been honored by God; he who does anything without the knowledge of the bishop is serving the devil."³ He asks them to appoint a delegate to visit Syria and congratulate the church there on the end of the persecution.⁴

In his letter to Polycarp Ignatius expresses his pleasure at having been able to meet him at Smyrna,⁵ and gives him some useful advice. Some of it is quite general in tone, but here and there insight into the character of Polycarp may be gained. His convictions are absolutely fixed.⁶ He endeavors to love all his brethren;⁷ unfortunately at times he tends to love "good disciples" more than he ought, and to apply the same

¹ The fullest discussion of all the historical questions involved is in C. J. Cadoux, *Ancient Smyrna* (Oxford, 1938), pp. 315-67, with very full bibliography; add M. H. Shepherd, Jr., "Smyrna in the Letters of Ignatius," *JE* 20 (1940), 141-59. On the letter to the Philippians see P. N. Harrison, *Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians* (Cambridge, 1936), with the reviews of C. J. Cadoux in *JTS* 38 (1937), 267-70, and H.-C. Puech in *RHR* 119 (1939), 96-102, and A. C. Headlam in *CQE* 141 (1945), 1-25. In spite of the strong arguments of Cadoux (pp. 306-10), I have made little use of the *Vita Polycarpi* of (?) Pionius. It represents Polycarp as a Stoic allegorist; note the etymologies in c.14 (p. 1027 Light-foot). Moreover the description of Paul as founder of the church of Smyrna (c.2, p. 1015 f.) contradicts the implication of Polycarp himself in *Phil.* 11: 3, that Smyrna was not a Pauline foundation.

² *Smyrn.* 8.

³ *Smyrn.* 9: 1 (Lake).

⁴ *Smyrn.* 11: 2; see *Polyc. Phil.* 13: 1.

⁵ *Magn.* 15.

⁶ *Polyc.* 1: 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1: 2.

"plaster" to all wounds.⁸ In short, he does not understand people who do not agree with him. He does not always even address them by name.⁹ He does not know quite how to act in the presence of slaves, possibly because he was once himself a slave.¹⁰ He is not sufficiently diligent,¹¹ and as a result the meetings of the community are relatively infrequent.¹² In spite of these shortcomings, Ignatius was aware of Polycarp's affectionate esteem,¹³ and in turn spoke of him with admiration.¹⁴ He is a great athlete, summoned by the strenuous nature of the times.¹⁵

The impression Ignatius made on Polycarp was profound. Soon after Ignatius' death but before he had heard complete details of his martyrdom, Polycarp collected the seven (or eight¹⁶) letters which Ignatius had written in Asia. And these letters he read and re-read until they became engraved in his memory. Harrison¹⁷ points out many examples of his allusions to the Ignatian epistles. Moreover Polycarp, as an "athlete," greatly admired the "endurance" which he had seen exemplified in Ignatius.¹⁸

⁸ *Ibid.*, 2: 1; Lightfoot compares Epictetus ii. 21. 20-22.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1: 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4: 3; see *Vita Polyc.* 3, p. 106 f. Lightfoot.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 3: 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, 4: 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 2: 3.

¹⁴ *Magn.* 15, *Eph.* 21: 1, *Smyrn.* 12: 2.

¹⁵ *Polyc.* 1: 3, 2: 3, 3: 1. For the word see *I Clem.* 5: 1, *II Clem.* 20: 2.

¹⁶ If the letter to Polycarp was originally two (yet see Harrison, *op. cit.*, 23). A second letter to Ephesus was probably never written (*Eph.* 20: 1).

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, 327-35 (notes).

¹⁸ *Phil.* 9: 1.

And yet the differences between Ignatius and Polycarp are striking. Ignatius' mind is individualistic (he uses various forms of the word "I" 153 times), vivid, poetic; Polycarp's is traditionalist, commonplace, prosy. In fact most of his epistle consists of quotations from the New Testament. His convictions are absolutely fixed: even after Ignatius' advice, he does not address Marcion by name but (using the "plaster" of his master John) calls him "first-born of Satan."¹⁹ Ignatius does not hesitate to use compound polysyllabic words: he uses compounds with *ἄγιος* twenty-one times, with *θεός* fourteen times, with *πολύς* three times. Polycarp never uses such words. Indeed, as Norden²⁰ pointed out, he does not even use the particles *μέν* and *δέ*. His reference to the chains of martyrs as diadems is commonplace compared with Ignatius' "spiritual pearls."²¹ "Die Sprache ist weder zu loben noch zu tadeln; kein ungewöhnliches Wort, kein Anakoluth, aber auch kein originaller Gedanke, keine Rhetorik weder des Herzens noch des Kopfes."²² In fact the only literary interest of Polycarp's epistle is to be found in its quotations.

His religion is largely a simple moralism. He knows that "neither am I, nor is any one else like me, able to follow the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul."²³ This is no mere lauding of time past; it is recognition of a qualitative difference. When he cites the

¹⁹ Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* iii. 3: 4 (II, 14 Harvey).

²⁰ E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 512 n. 2.

²¹ *Phil.* 1: 1, *Ign.*, *Eph.* 11: 2.

²² Norden, *op. cit.*, 512.

²³ *Phil.* 3: 2.

watchword of his teacher, "Everyone who does not confess that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is an anti-Christ," and adds to it his own formula, "Whoever does not confess the testimony of the cross is of the devil,"²⁴ we are made aware of transition from the school of John to something like the atmosphere of the Pastoral Epistles. "The testimony of the cross" is apparently Polycarp's own phrase; and its meaning is not as clear as that of the Johannine expression it is intended to paraphrase.

According to the *Life of Polycarp* by "Pionius,"²⁵ the verses in Timothy and Titus describing the duties of a bishop were being read in the church of Smyrna when the congregation realized their relevance to Polycarp. It is in any case certain that the theological outlook of Polycarp and of the Pastorals is much the same.²⁶ With the "faithful sayings"²⁷ of the Pastorals we may compare Polycarp's "He who has love is far from all sin"²⁸ or "We are all debtors to sin."²⁹ The "faithful saying" of I Timothy 1: 15 is quite in har-

mony with them: "He came into the world to save sinners." As Swete³⁰ observes, it "reminds us of St. John"—or of the Johannine school. Such condensations and such a pastoral ministry were badly needed in Asia Minor at the beginning of the second century. In many localities the docetists may have constituted a majority;³¹ Marcion was about to throw the church into confusion; other difficulties were soon to arise. When Polycarp was in Rome the year before he died he converted many Valentinians and Marcionites to orthodox Christianity.³² His method can hardly have been that of ingenious apologetic; it must rather have consisted of an appeal to tradition. As Polycarp says in his epistle,³³ "Blessed is he who remembers." As a bishop he was not expected to be a scholar or theologian; on the contrary the ideal bishop of the Pastoral Epistles is like the ideal general of Onosander.³⁴

As might be expected, Polycarp lays great emphasis on tradition. "This is

²⁴ Phil. 7: 1; see I John 4: 2 f., II John 7; A. E. Brooke, *The Johannine Epistles* (New York, 1912), liii.

²⁵ *Vita Polyc.* 22, p. 1035: 27 Lightfoot; see B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church* (New York, 1929), 117.

²⁶ On the Pastorals see P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* (Oxford, 1921); M. Rist in *JR* 22 (1942), 39-62. On their inclusion in the Beatty papyri, H. A. Sanders in *AJP* 58 (1937), 370-72.

²⁷ See H. B. Swete, "The Faithful Sayings," *JTS* 18 (1916-17), 1-7; I Tim. 1: 15, 3: 1, 4: 8 f., II Tim. 2: 11 f., Tit. 3: 4 ff.

²⁸ Phil. 3: 3 = I Clem. 49: 1, Phil. 2: 2, I Cor. 13 1ff. + Ep. Jer. 72, Sir. 15: 8 + I John 1: 7, 3: 9-11 (Harrison); "far from" a favorite expression (4: 3, 6: 1); cited by Irenaeus, *Epid.* 95.

²⁹ Phil. 6: 1; see Rom. 8: 12 (Harrison).

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, 2; see John 3: 17, 12: 47.

³¹ Phil. 7: 2; see Papias in Eusebius, *HE* iii. 39: 3; W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen, 1934), 65ff.

³² Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* iii. 3: 4 (II, 13 Harvey).

³³ Phil. 12: 1; Harrison compares Rev. 1: 3, 22: 7. See also Irenaeus, *Letter to Florinus*, in Eusebius, *HE* v. 20: 7. It is not clear when Florinus was "trying to win favor" with Polycarp; the "imperial court" probably refers to Hadrian's visit to Asia in the years 123-25 (see B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian* [London, 1923], 84-87, 291; Cadoux, *op. cit.*, 257); but it is by no means certain that Florinus' association with it implies anything in regard to Polycarp.

³⁴ Titus 1: 7-9; Onosander, *De imperatoris officio* i.1 (p. 3 Koehly).

what we have believed," he says in his letter. It is "the word which was delivered to us in the beginning."³⁵ In his oral teaching he insisted firmly on what he had heard from John and the rest of those who had seen the Lord. He taught "in complete accord with the scriptures." If unorthodox teaching were mentioned before him he would stop his ears.³⁶ He told the story of how his master John would not even remain in the same bath-house with a heretic.³⁷ He called docetists "first-born of Satan" and—presumably later—applied the term to Marcion in person.³⁸

His tradition is a local rather than a universal one. Following the chronology of the Asiatic gospel of John, Polycarp and his successors kept the Passover in Jewish fashion, while the rest of the church celebrated Christ's resurrection. They commemorated his crucifixion on the fourteenth day of the Jewish month Nisan, and were therefore called Quartodecimans.³⁹ When Polycarp visited Rome, soon after the accession of Anicetus, he apparently attempted to interfere with Roman custom. Though rebuffed, he and Anicetus agreed to differ amicably, and Anicetus continued to send the Eucharistic elements to the Asiatic community in Rome.⁴⁰ Indeed, on at least one occasion Anicetus yielded his own celebration of the Eucharist to

Polycarp out of respect for his position as "father of the Christians"⁴¹ of Asia Minor.

The tradition may be not only local but that of a family. It is striking, and probably due to more than coincidence, that when Polycrates of Ephesus at the end of the century lists those who have observed Quartodeciman usage and concludes, "seven of my relatives were bishops, and I am the eighth," he has just listed seven names.⁴² Indeed nothing could be more likely than that Christianity spread among families, some of which would produce leaders for the church.⁴³

Whatever the nature of the tradition, it was sufficiently impressive to Irenaeus for him to place it second only to the apostolic tradition of the church of Rome;⁴⁴ and Quartodeciman practice possessed enough vitality to keep it alive in distant Britain until the council of Whitby in 664. To Irenaeus, Polycarp was no great theologian—he does not cite his letter to the Philippians in his work against heresies⁴⁵—but rather a "blessed and apostolic presbyter."⁴⁶ Irenaeus tells us that Polycarp lived to a great age and gloriously and nobly bore witness.⁴⁷ This statement is con-

⁴¹ *Mart. Polyc.* 12: 2.

⁴² Eusebius, *HE* v.24.2-5. I owe this suggestion to Dr. Philip Carrington, Archbishop of Quebec.

⁴³ See F. V. Filson in *JBL* 58 (1939), 105-12. Compare the "caliphate" in Jerusalem under James the Lord's brother.

⁴⁴ Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* iii.3.4 (II, 12-15 Harvey).

⁴⁵ Yet see n. 28 above; and he had used the most striking phrase; see n. 19.

⁴⁶ *Letter to Florinus*, *HE* v.20.7.

⁴⁷ On "martyr" see K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte II. Der Osten* (Tübingen, 1927-28), pp. 68-114.

³⁵ *Phil.* 8: 2, 7: 2 (see I John 1: 1-3). Ignatius does not refer to tradition.

³⁶ Irenaeus, *Letter to Florinus*, in Eusebius, *HE* v.20.6 f.; see II Tim. 3: 14 f.

³⁷ Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* iii.3.4 (II, 13 Harvey).

³⁸ *Phil.* 7: 1; see n. 19 above; A. v. Harnack, *Marcion: das Evangelium vom fremden Gott* (ed. 2, Leipzig, 1924), p. 24, 3-5.

³⁹ See C. C. Richardson in *HTR* 33 (1940), 177-90.

⁴⁰ Eusebius, *HE* v.24.16 f.; G. La Piana in *HTR* 18 (1925), 213-19.

firmed by, and in part rests upon, the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* which we possess. In the year 156,⁴⁸ at the climax of a persecution which involved at least the churches of Philadelphia and Smyrna, Polycarp was arrested, after slaves under torture had given information concerning his whereabouts. Taken into the arena on February 22, the prisoner was urged by the proconsul to reject Christianity, proving his repentance by cursing Christ. He replied with the famous sentence: "For eighty-six years I have served him, and he has done me no wrong; how can I blaspheme my king who saved me?"⁴⁹ After further discussion Polycarp was prepared for burning, but like the three holy children of Daniel 3: 50 was untouched by the flame. Finally he was given the *coup de grâce* by an executioner (*confector*). At his death a dove came forth from his wound, as well as a great quantity of blood.⁵⁰ In his last days Polycarp exhibited the courage and constancy required by his eighty-six years of Christian discipleship.

II. THE LIBRARY OF POLYCARP

Polycarp, according to Irenaeus, was a disciple of John, the beloved disciple of Jesus.⁵¹ But his knowledge of Chris-

tianity had not come to him only through oral tradition. Like his contemporary Papias, he made use both of "the living voice" and of books. What were these books? The question is easier to ask than to answer, for the importance of Polycarp's witness to the New Testament canon is almost equalled by its obscurity.

In the first place, the date of Polycarp's letter is almost an open question. If with Harrison we divide it into two epistles to the Philippians, the first letter, written before Ignatius' death, contains no certain allusions to the New Testament, and the second, containing many allusions, could have been written almost any time before Polycarp's martyrdom.⁵² The traditional view, that the one letter was written soon after Ignatius' death before details have reached Polycarp, still has much to commend it.⁵³ Of course the date of Ignatius' death is itself uncertain;⁵⁴ but if we place Polycarp's letter about 120 we shall not be far wrong.

In the second place, no matter what the date, there is a surprising omission in the letter. While Polycarp knows the letter of the Roman to the Corinthian church (I Clement) almost "by heart,"⁵⁵ and alludes to it throughout his own writing, he makes no reference whatever to the gospel traditionally

Sanders, *The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (Cambridge, 1943); my article in *HTR* 35 (1942), 95-116.

⁵² Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-206, argues for "the thirties of the second century."

⁵³ So H.-C. Puech in *RHR* 119 (1939), 102.

⁵⁴ A. Harnack, *Die Zeit des Ignatius* (Leipzig, 1878), p. 71; Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 325 n. 1.

⁵⁵ B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (London, 1924), p. 528; O. Gebhardt-A. Harnack-T. Zahn, *Patrum apostolicorum opera* i.1 (ed. 2, Leipzig, 1876), pp. xxiv-xxvii.

⁴⁸ On the date see A. Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur I* (Leipzig, 1897), 334-56; Cadoux, *op. cit.*, p. 355 n. 3; Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-83; E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1923), p. 514, accepts Schwartz's date of 24 (a misprint for 22) February 156.

⁴⁹ *Mart. Polyc.* 9: 3.

⁵⁰ *Mart. Polyc.* 16: 1; see John 19: 34, I John 5: 6. The dove a symbol of the spirit: Mark 1: 10 and parallels.

⁵¹ See J. Hoh, *Die Lehre des hl. Irenäus über das Neue Testament* (Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen VII 4/5, 1919), pp. 145-66; J. N.

ascribed to his own teacher John. On the other hand, before his time, Ignatius is acquainted with a kind of thought which we can only call Johannine.⁵⁶ Harrison⁵⁷ presents the following theory to explain this difficulty: the first draft of the gospel was composed at Antioch during the episcopate of Ignatius; later the author went to Ephesus and continued his work, finally leaving it to a circle of elders there who published it about the year 135. Unfortunately for this view two items of evidence suggest that the gospel was in circulation early in the second century. The first is the Rylands papyrus fragment of the gospel (P. Rylands Gk. 457), which apparently must be dated well within the first half of the second century;⁵⁸ and the second is its use by Basilides and Papias, also early in the century.⁵⁹ And in view of Polycarp's statement that "he promised us to raise us from the dead," which, as Jacquier observes, is found only in John 6: 39 f., 44, we must conclude that Polycarp could have quoted from the gospel.⁶⁰ Two reasons may be suggested for his failure to do so. His letter to the Philippians is an entirely practical letter of advice. In it he does quote his teacher's condemnation of the docetists. And while the gospel too is anti-docetic, it is by no means so well suited for quotation.

Moreover, it is possible—indeed probable—that the gospel would not be regarded as authoritative by the Philippians, just as it was not generally regarded as authoritative until the latter half of the second century. The works Polycarp quotes are those which are generally accepted and therefore can be used for direction.

The formula Polycarp uses in appealing to the authoritative words of the Lord is almost the same as that found in Acts 20: 35, *I Clement* 13: 1 and 46: 7; and the verses which he quotes in *Phil.* 2: 3, like those in *I Clement* 13: 2, seem to be quoted from memory from the gospels of *Matthew* and *Luke*. The quotation, "Blessed are the poor, and they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God,"⁶¹ includes expressions characteristic of both gospels. Yet it should not be concluded that Polycarp is making use of a source common to both gospels, for in *Phil.* 7: 2 he clearly makes use of *Matthew*. "Beseeching the all-seeing God"⁶² "to lead us not into temptation," even as the Lord said, "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak."⁶³ In addition to these gospels Polycarp also knows the *Acts of the Apostles*. The clearest proof of this knowledge is to be found in *Phil.* 1: 2 f., where Polycarp alludes to Acts 2: 24 "[Jesus Christ], whom God raised up, having loosed the pangs of Hades"—from a sermon ascribed to Peter—and immediately con-

⁵⁶ See my article in *JBL* 63 (1944), 363-77.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

⁵⁸ H. I. Bell, *Recent Discoveries of Biblical Papyri* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 20-22.

⁵⁹ Hippolytus, *Ref. omn. haer.* vii.22; my note in *ATR* 25 (1943), 218-22.

⁶⁰ *Phil.* 5: 2; E. Jacquier, *Le nouveau testament dans l'église chrétienne I* (ed. 2, Paris, 1911), p. 55. Harrison compares II Cor. 4: 14 and Rom. 8: 11, but the point lies in "his" promise.

⁶¹ Matt. 7: 1 f., 5: 3, 10 = Luke 6: 36-38, 20.

⁶² An attribute derived from Hellenistic Judaism: *Sib. orac.* frag. i.4, II Macc. 9: 5 (R. Marcus, "Divine Names and Attributes in Hellenistic Jewish Literature," *Proc. Amer. Acad. for Jewish Research*, 1931-32, p. 100).

⁶³ Matt. 6: 13, 26: 41.

tinues, "in whom, not having seen, you believe, in unspeakable and glorified joy"—from *I Peter* 1: 8. As Zahn⁶⁴ observes, the combination can hardly be fortuitous.

His use of the Pauline epistles is a somewhat controversial matter.⁶⁵ Explicit quotations prove that he knew *Ephesians* ("knowing [this], that 'By grace you were saved, not as a result of works' " ⁶⁶) and *I Corinthians* ("Or do we not know that the saints will judge the world, as Paul teaches?" ⁶⁷). A reference to prayer "for the enemies of the cross" is doubtless derived from *Philippians*.⁶⁸ Polycarp's allusion to faith as "the mother of us all," while reflecting the second-century belief in Faith as the mother of Christians, contains a reference to *Galatians*.⁶⁹ Finally, his statement to the effect that love of God and Christ and neighbor is the fulfilment of the "commandment of righteousness" reflects such a passage as *Romans* 13: 8-10.⁷⁰

Other Pauline epistles are more faintly

⁶⁴ T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament* II (ed. 3, E. T. Edinburgh, 1909), p. 186, n. 1. The passage in *Job* 39: 2 adduced by Lake and Cadbury (*The Beginnings of Christianity* IV (London, 1933), p. 23) is not a complete parallel.

⁶⁵ See most recently A. E. Barnett, *Paul Becomes a Literary Influence* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 170-85.

⁶⁶ *Phil.* 1: 3 = *Eph.* 2: 5, 8 f. See also *Phil.* 12: 1 = *Eph.* 4: 26.

⁶⁷ *Phil.* 11: 2 = *I Cor.* 6: 2. See also *Phil.* 2: 1, 10; 3: 21 = *I Cor.* 15: 28.

⁶⁸ *Polyc.*, *Phil.* 12: 3 = *Phil.* 3: 18; cf. *Polyc.* 3: 2 = *Phil.* 3: 1; 9: 1 = *Phil.* 2: 16.

⁶⁹ *Phil.* 3: 3 = *Gal.* 4: 27. See *Mart. Justini* 4: 8 (Knopf-Krüger, p. 17: 2); J. C. Plumpe, *Mater Ecclesia* (Washington, 1943), pp. 18-21. Compare *Phil.* 5: 1 = *Gal.* 6: 7.

⁷⁰ *Phil.* 3: 3.

echoed. It is possible, as Harnack⁷¹ suggested, that Polycarp's reference to "the firm root of your faith, proclaimed abroad from ancient times [which], still flourishes and bears fruit to our Lord Jesus Christ" is derived from Paul's description in *I Thessalonians* 1: 7 f. of the way in which the Christian message spread from Thessalonica. Harnack argued that this description of one Macedonian church might easily be applied to another, that at Philippi. Similarly he interpreted another laudatory passage in Polycarp's epistle (11: 3) as a reference to *II Thessalonians* 1: 4. Such a blanket interpretation of the Pauline epistles would be like that of Ignatius, who tells the Ephesians that in every letter Paul makes mention of them.⁷² Another rather indistinct resemblance to a Pauline epistle is to be found in Polycarp's statement, "He who raised him from the dead will also raise us." This summary of the Christian hope is very general in tone, and the similar passage in *II Corinthians* 4: 14 is introduced by the formula, "knowing [this]," which suggests that like the later "faithful sayings" it is quoted from the oral tradition.⁷³ Nevertheless if Polycarp knew *I Corinthians* he probably knew *II Corinthians* as well.

Therefore of the Pauline epistles Polycarp certainly knows *Ephesians* and *I Corinthians*, and probably knows *Philippians*, *Galatians*, *Romans*, and *II Corinthians*. His use of the Thessalon-

⁷¹ A. Harnack, "Patristische Miscellen III" (*Texte und Untersuchungen* 20.3 (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 86-93.

⁷² *Ign.*, *Eph.* 12: 2.

⁷³ *Phil.* 2: 2 = *II Cor.* 4: 14; cf. *I Cor.* 6: 14, *Rom.* 8: 11.

ian epistles is more doubtful. Only occasional verbal echoes of *Colossians* are to be found.⁷⁴ There can be little doubt, however, that he possessed a *corpus* of Pauline epistles, which included *Ephesians* and presumably the nine more certainly genuine letters of the apostle.

As for the Pastoral Epistles, Barnett's attempt to solve the problem by standing it on its head does not seem satisfactory.⁷⁵ It can hardly be said with Harnack that "the discussions of offices in I Tim. 3: 1-3 and Titus 1: 7-9 breathe the atmosphere of the middle of the second century"⁷⁶ or with Barnett that "the Pastorals seem to belong to the atmosphere of the sectarian conflicts of the middle of the second century and after, which, *of course* [*italics mine*], precludes any use of them in Polycarp's letter to the Philippians."⁷⁷ To analyze the second point first, what reasons are there for assuming that "sectarian conflicts" began to harass the church only in "the middle of the second century and after?" Surely all our available evidence points to their existence in the apostolic age,⁷⁸ and especially in the sub-apostolic age, when the church ceased to be "a pure virgin."⁷⁹ As for Harnack's insistence on the lateness of some parts of the Pastorals, it is difficult to believe, when we see the monarchical episcopate as highly developed as it is in Ignatius, that it would take long for simple lists of character requirements to

be set forth for bishops and deacons.⁸⁰ Moreover ecclesiastical organization developed more rapidly in some areas than in others.

To say that "the martyrological interest of the Pastorals furnishes data that tend to place them near the middle of the second century"⁸¹ is to overlook the existence of the Apocalypse of John and the first epistle of Peter, not to mention the fact that Paul had actually been a martyr at Rome in the first century.⁸² And finally, it is gratuitous to assume that the word "antitheses" in I Timothy 6: 20 must refer to the book of *Antitheses* compiled by Marcion. In the first place, the subject under discussion in this epistle (see I Tim. 1: 6-10) is the interpretation of the Jewish Law. It is therefore more natural to interpret this saying as a reference to "the endless contrasts of decisions, founded on endless distinctions, which played so large a part in the casuistry of scribes."⁸³ In the second place, even if it need be assumed that the contrasts are between Law and Gospel, was Marcion without forerunners? Paul himself, in his earlier period,⁸⁴ had insisted on these contrasts. Indeed, one of the chief purposes of the death of Christ was our redemption from the Law.⁸⁵

With these points in mind we may

⁸⁰ See M. H. Shepherd, Jr., *op. cit.*, 155 f. Compare Polyc., *Phil.* 5: 2 with I Tim. 3: 8-10.

⁸¹ Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁸² I Clement 5: 1, 5-7.

⁸³ F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity* (London, 1894), p. 140. See A. Jülicher-E. Fascher, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Tübingen, 1931), p. 179.

⁸⁴ See C. H. Dodd in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 17 (1933), 101 f.

⁸⁵ W. Morgan, *The Religion and Theology of Paul* (Edinburgh, 1917), 73-97.

⁷⁴ Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 181 f. cf. 185.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-84.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 182; A. Harnack, *Chronologie* (see n. 48) I, pp. 480-85, especially 482.

⁷⁷ Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁷⁸ The epistle to the Colossians, for example.

⁷⁹ See Hegesippus in Eusebius, *HE* iv. 22. 4-6; the letters of Ignatius.

turn to Polycarp's citations from the Pastoral Epistles. The closest parallel is found in *Phil.* 4: "The beginning of all evils is the love of money. Knowing therefore⁸⁶ that 'we brought nothing into the world and we can take nothing out of it,' let us arm ourselves with the weapons of righteousness and let us teach ourselves first of all to walk in the commandment of the Lord, then our wives, to remain in the faith given to them and in love and purity, loving their husbands in all truth, and loving all equally in all chastity, and to educate their children in instruction in the fear of God; let us teach the virtuous widows in the faith in the Lord so that they, praying ceaselessly for all, may be far from all slander, evil speaking, false witness, love of money, and all evil, knowing that they are the altar of God, and that all offerings are tested, and that nothing escapes him of reasonings or thoughts or the secret things of the heart."

Naturally enough, both of the sayings common to Polycarp and to the Pastorals are proverbial. "Love of money is the root of all evil" is to be found not only among Jews⁸⁷ but also among Greek and Roman writers.⁸⁸ Similarly, "we brought nothing into this world," etc., is also cited in *Job* 1: 21 and *Ecclesiastes* 5: 14, as well as by Ovid and Seneca.⁸⁹ Are not these commonplaces exactly what one would expect Polycarp to cite? And when he proceeds to dis-

cuss the questions of personal religion, wives, and widows, what other source can he be following but I Timothy, where these subjects are taken up in the same order.⁹⁰

Another letter which Polycarp almost certainly used in the first epistle of Peter. As Eusebius⁹¹ was aware, he frequently alludes to it. There are approximately ten such allusions.

In summary, we may conclude that Polycarp's Christian library consisted of sayings of the Lord, largely in the form given them by the gospels of *Matthew* and *Luke*, from which he quoted them from memory; the *Acts* of the Apostles; a collection of Pauline epistles, probably including the Pastorals; the first epistle of Peter; and the first epistle of John. He may also have known the Fourth Gospel.⁹² He certainly knew *I Clement*. But the Old Testament was practically unknown to him.⁹³

III. THE SCHOOL OF JOHN

Polycarp is not only a bishop in the church of Asia but also a member of the Johannine school. He was⁹⁴ an apostolic and prophetic teacher. What is a teacher in the ancient church? Origi-

⁸⁶ On these "Haustafeln" see K. Weidinger, *Die Haustafeln* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 58 f.

⁸⁷ Eusebius, *HE* iv.14.9; Jacquier, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁸⁸ According to Jerome on the Psalms (*Anecdota Maredsolana* III 2 [1897], 5) he also used the Apocalypse, as we should expect.

⁸⁹ Like the author of I Timothy he combines Old Testament scripture with New Testament sayings; I Tim. 5: 18 = Deut. 25: 4 + Luke 10: 7; Polye., *Phil.* 12: 1 = Psalm 4: 5 + Eph. 4: 26. His only direct quotation is in 10: 1—Prov. 3: 27 f. + Tobit 4: 10.

⁹⁰ Shepherd (*op. cit.*, p. 153) seems to me to lay too much stress on the word *γερβουeros* in *Mart. Polyc.* 16: 2.

⁸⁶ This formula introduces quotations from Paul in *Phil.* 1: 3, 5: 1, 11: 2; cf. 4: 3.

⁸⁷ *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Judah* 1: 1 (p. 94 f. Charles); *Pseudo-Phocylides* 42 (p. 198 Diehl).

⁸⁸ Diogenes Laertius vi.50; Seneca, *De clementia* ii.1.4.

⁸⁹ Ovid, *Tristia* v.14.12; Seneca, *Ep.* 102: 25.

nally, no doubt, the same man would hand down the traditional *kerygma* or apostolic preaching⁹⁵ and the traditional *didache* or apostolic teaching.⁹⁶ But as time passed there would tend to be a recognition of the diversities of gifts. "Seeing then we have divers gifts according to the grace that is given unto us . . . so he that teacheth, let him be occupied in teaching."⁹⁷ In Judaism each scribe had his school (*Beth ha-Midrash*) where his special type of teaching was followed, and where enthusiastic students surrounded him—at least in theory. "R. Jacob said, 'He who is walking by the way and studying, and breaks off his study and says, "How fine is this tree! how fine is that tree! and how fine is this fallow!" they account it to him as if he were guilty of death.'"⁹⁸ In these schools the succession of teachers and disciples was theoretically traced back to Moses.⁹⁹ Similarly in Greek schools of philosophy there was a strong emphasis on the succession of teachers.¹⁰⁰ Thus wherever Christianity was regarded as the true interpretation of the Old Testament or as the true source of knowledge there would be an emphasis on the succession

of those from whom it had been received. This idea of succession was most prominent in Asia Minor, where the Johannine school flourished.

Ignatius of Antioch refers to teachers and teaching in only two of his epistles—those to the Ephesians and the Magnesians. In *Magnesians* 9: 1 he insists that Jesus Christ is our only teacher. Similarly throughout *Ephesians* he expresses his distrust of teachers and teaching and contrasts the garrulousness of teachers with the silence of bishop Onesimus. There is one teacher: Jesus Christ.¹⁰¹ As an inspired prophet¹⁰² Ignatius is suspicious of teachers.¹⁰³

And yet in the vicinity of Ephesus there exists what the *Acts of John* calls a school,¹⁰⁴ where "Johannine Christianity" is taught, and out of which emerge not only the gospel, three epistles, and apocalypse ascribed to John, but also the disciples Papias and Polycarp. Unless there was such a school it is almost impossible to account for the belief of Irenaeus that these writings come from John and that Papias and Polycarp are his disciples. Moreover the concluding verses of the Fourth Gospel (John 21: 24 f.) are most naturally understood as the recommendation, by a school, of one of their master's works.¹⁰⁵

What was taught in this school? It may be said almost with certainty that the curriculum was not like that of Jewish or Christian catechetical schools at

⁹⁵ See C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments* (Chicago, 1937).

⁹⁶ See Rom. 6: 17, 16: 17; P. Carrington, *The Primitive Christian Catechism* (Cambridge, 1940); E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (London, 1946), pp. 365-466.

⁹⁷ Rom. 12: 6 f., "as in the Genevan Bible," as J. Moffatt once inscribed it in a book for me.

⁹⁸ Pirke Aboth iii.11 (p. 48 Taylor); G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the Age of the Tannaim I* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 308-22.

⁹⁹ Pirke Aboth i.1 (p. 11 Taylor).

¹⁰⁰ See Diogenes Laertius i.13 and *passim*; G. Heinrici, *Das Urchristentum in der Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius* (Leipzig, 1894), p. 7, n. 1.

¹⁰¹ Eph. 9: 1, 16: 2, 17: 1; cf. 15: 1. Christ as teacher: Justin, *Apologies* and *Dialogue, passim*.

¹⁰² Philad. 7: 2; B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church* (New York, 1929), pp. 234 f.

¹⁰³ See Shepherd, *op. cit.*, 143-47. "Barnabas" is a teacher (9: 9; cf. 1: 8, 4: 9).

¹⁰⁴ *Acta Ioannis* 14 (p. 159: 20 Bonnet).

¹⁰⁵ See W. Heitmüller, "Zur Johannes-Tradition," *ZNW* 15 (1914), 206-08.

Alexandria, where "ordinary elementary studies" (the "encyclia") were recommended to most students, and the more gifted studied philosophy.¹⁰⁰ The traditions of John which Papias reports are thoroughly Jewish in tone,¹⁰⁷ even though the introduction to his work shows signs of a certain literary skill.¹⁰⁸ According to Irenaeus,¹⁰⁹ Polycarp used to sit and recall from memory what John and the others who had seen the Lord had said "about the Lord, his mighty works, and his teaching." Similarly the *Acts of John* describe John's own teaching.¹¹⁰ In other words, the teaching was almost entirely traditional. And yet it was not purely traditional, for the Johannine interpretation of Christianity is a "modernizing" interpretation designed to make the message more meaningful in a new age. The genius of the master of the school was not inherited by his disciples, however, and in their time, in storms of sectarian conflict, they were content to defend what he had created. Of these disciples, Polycarp was the most famous.

¹⁰⁰ Jewish: F. H. Colson, "Philo on Education," *JTS* 18 (1916-17), 151-62. Christian: Eusebius, *HE* vi.18.3 f.; E. de Faye, *Origène sa vie son oeuvre sa pensée* I (Paris, 1923), pp. 16-29. On both see W. Bousset, *Jüdisch-christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom* (Göttingen, 1915).

¹⁰⁷ Especially the fragment in Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* v.33.3 (II, 417 f. Harvey).

¹⁰⁸ E. Schwartz, "Über den Tod der Söhne Zebedaei," *Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen* (N.F. VII 5, 1904), pp. 9 f.

¹⁰⁹ Eusebius, *HE* v.20.6. Irenaeus himself did not take notes (*ibid.*, 7).

¹¹⁰ *Acta Ionnis* 14 (p. 160: 1 f.). This later develops into such requirements as that a deacon shall have learned the Gospel of John by heart (W. E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca* [London, 1902], No. 29, tr. on p. 9).

IV. THE CONTRIBUTION OF POLYCARP

By the end of the second century the Johannine theology had become the norm of orthodoxy.¹¹¹ By "Johannine theology" we mean a theology based on the Fourth Gospel, for the Apocalypse was beginning to lose favor because of the excesses of its admirers.¹¹² The church had weathered the storms of Marcionism and Valentinianism, as well as some of the aberrations of her own defenders.¹¹³ It was time for a learned theology to be developed. But had there not been in the second century an apostolic teacher like Polycarp of Smyrna, content to hand down the tradition which he had received, a preserver rather than a pioneer, there would have been few materials with which to build such a theology.

Moreover in attempting to analyze the obscurities of Christian life in the second century we should never forget that in Smyrna there lived such a conservative bishop, and for so long a time. To all theories of radical change his existence and influence is a stumbling block.

Ignatius had given him profound advice.¹¹⁴ "The ship of the church is tossed to and fro on the ocean of the world. It is a critical moment, a tempestuous season. You must be both its helmsman and its haven; must guide its course and afford it a shelter. So will it

¹¹¹ J. N. Sanders, *op. cit.* (n. 51), pp. 66-87; W. Bauer, *op. cit.* (n. 31), p. 214.

¹¹² See my article in *JR* 25 (1945), 188-90.

¹¹³ J. Lebreton, "Le désaccord de la foi populaire et de la théologie savante dans l'Église chrétienne du III^e siècle," *RHE* 19 (1923), 481-506; 20 (1924), 5-37.

¹¹⁴ *Polyc.* 2: 3, paraphrased by J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* II 2 (London, 1885), pp. 339 f. On the metaphor see C. Bonner, "Desired Haven," *HTE* 34 (1941), 49-67.

arrive at God, its destined goal." Without such men as Polycarp the church could hardly have failed to run on rocks and become the prey of pirates.¹¹⁵

Polycarp's life, like his thought, was generally unexciting; but genius is rare at any time, and in his period the church needed stability more than brilliance. For the historian Polycarp is an impor-

¹¹⁵ For this metaphor see Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum* II 14 (pp. 98, 100 Otto).

tant figure. When he quotes Christian books from memory we can be sure that they were generally accepted in his day; when we hear echoed his testimony to the Johannine school we can be sure at least of its existence; and when we see him die in the arena we can be confident of his witness for the catholic church in Smyrna.¹¹⁶ "Of the elect was he indeed one."

¹¹⁶ *Mart. Polyc.* 16: 2.

THE ORIGIN OF THE EPICLESIS

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In another article¹ I have suggested that the petition for the descent of the Spirit in the Anaphora of Hippolytus is not a later interpolation. In the light of this I wish to discuss the origins of the Epiclesis.

If we divest our minds of 'moments' of Consecration and Epicleses (in fourth century style), and attend to what the early liturgies *say*, it is clear that they always include some petition for the hallowing of the elements. It is certainly improbable that such a prayer belonged to the most primitive liturgy, where consecration was more likely effected by the Jewish custom of a thanksgiving to God. The Eucharistic prayers of the *Didache*²

give us an indication of this. When Christianity, however, moved out beyond its Jewish environment, the Gentile idea of blessing *things*, instead of blessing *God* for them, came to play a significant part in the framing of Christian prayers.

The various liturgies express this later idea of the hallowing of the elements in different ways and from different viewpoints. But, with the exception of the archaic forms in the *Didache* and the *Testament of Our Lord*,³ they never omit it. Where the Logos is prayed for, there is a tendency, as in Serapion and possibly in Irenaeus,⁴ to frame the peti-

¹ *Vide* a forthcoming issue of the *Harvard Theological Review*.

² It seems most likely that the *Didache* was compiled in Egypt from very early Syrian material. I see no reason to attribute the Eucharistic prayers to the later Agape. By the time the Eucharist and Agape were separated, not only were the terms distinguished, but the practice of hallowing the elements was common. This applies equally to both ceremonies.

In the Agape there was "blessed bread" and "exorcised bread." It is difficult, furthermore, to suppose that Serapion would have taken his quotation from a traditional form of the Agape, rather than from an ancient Eucharistic prayer.

³ Edited by Cooper and Maclean, 1902, pp. 71 ff. Consecration here involves offering the bread and cup, with thanksgiving, to the Trinity.

⁴ *Adv. Haer.*, 4. 18. 4-5; 5. 2. 3.

tion in such a way as to anticipate the later Epiclesis. The Logos transforms the elements into the body and blood of Christ.⁵

In the liturgy of *Addai and Mari*, however, this is not so. The petition is that Christ's Spirit may come on the oblation, "that it may be for us for the pardon of offenses . . . for the great hope of resurrection, etc." Behind this probably lies the idea, found later in Ephraem, that the content of the Eucharist is "Spirit."⁶ This, I think, is what Hippolytus has in mind in the phrase "in repletionem Spiritus saneti," and why he prays for the descent of the Spirit.⁷ It is not to change the elements into the "antitype" of the Body and Blood of Christ, but to fill them with hallowing power (or "Spirit") for the communicants.⁸

⁵ Serapion equally attributes the transformation to the Dominical Words.

⁶ It is along these lines that I would interpret the passages in the *Didascalia*, ed. Dom. R. H. Connolly, pp. 245; 253. Such a prayer as that in *Addai and Mari* would suit the context very well.

⁷ *The Apostolic Tradition*, 4. 12. In his valuable edition of this work (1937, p. 79), Dom Dix has a statement regarding blessings in Hippolytus, which I find it difficult to follow. He writes, "It is noticeable that the 'Eucharists' over oil, and cheese and olives, and first-fruits . . . have nothing comparable to a petition for blessing the oil, etc. They 'thank' God for a mercy and add an appropriate petition for the offerers." While this is certainly applicable to the prayer over the first-fruits (28. 3-5, p. 54), which seems to have preserved its Jewish form longer than other such blessings (cf. *Apostolic Constitutions*, 8. 40), I doubt if it adequately characterizes such a petition as "Sanctifica hoc" (6. 2, p. 10).

⁸ There is no reason to assume that this idea was confined to Syria. There was sufficient confusion between Logos and Spirit in the West to account for its appearance there. In

Other ways of expressing this idea of hallowing were by a simple blessing, or by a petition that God would receive the offering on the Heavenly Altar. Both are found in the Roman Canon,⁹ and neither directly refers to the Spirit. In the latter one, the concept of hallowing is essentially connected with that of the sacrifice; and this is not surprising, seeing that the theme of the sacrifice was so emphasized in the Latin liturgy. The idea of the Heavenly Altar is certainly primitive,¹⁰ and was widely adopted in Eastern liturgies, but its place in the Roman Canon is unique.¹¹

What is important is that the prayer of hallowing did not always contain a petition to transform the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ. Much fruitless controversy about the Epiclesis could be avoided, if this were kept in mind. The idea of a 'moment' of consecration seems to have been slow in developing, and in the West there was diversity of opinion about it, even in the Middle Ages. The early Consecration Prayers were certainly not framed with such a moment in mind. They grew up out of traditions set by extempore prayer, and were mostly compiled with the aid of paste and scissors. Hence they are characterised by repetition, sudden change of thought and address,

Serapion's blessing of the font (2. 7) there is a sudden transition from a petition that the water be filled with "Holy Spirit," to one for the descent of the Logos. This betrays, I think, the kind of confusion between Logos and Spirit that must have characterised liturgical forms in the Early Church.

⁹ The *Quam oblationem* and the *Supra quae*, etc.

¹⁰ Iren., *Adv. Haer.*, 4. 18. 6.

¹¹ But see the two eighth-century Egyptian Anaphoras discussed by H. W. Codrington in *J. T. S.*, vol. 39, 141 ff.

and bad grammar. In the light of this it is idle to search in them for a moment of consecration.

What they tried to do was to give expression to four themes:

(a) Praise and thanksgiving (either by a series of thanksgivings or later by the Preface and *Sanctus*), culminating in the doxology.

(b) The institution of the Supper, as the warrant for doing what the Lord had done (if only by a passing reference as in *Addai and Mari*).

(c) The offering of the bread and cup (again only a passing reference in *Addai and Mari*).

(d) The hallowing of the elements.

These themes were variously treated. They came in different orders and often with some repetition.¹² But to no single phrase could the whole consecration be attributed. What consecrated was the combined prayer and action of the Anaphora. It was the theologians and not the compilers of the primitive liturgies, who invented 'moments' of consecration; and the early theologians were often inconsistent on the point just because the liturgies themselves were so unclear.

The early Eucharist was rich in ideas and it is for this reason that so many apparent 'moments' of consecration are found in the Anaphoras. Consecrating was not a simple but a complex sacred action, involving the giving of thanks, doing what the Lord had done, making

the "antitype" of His Body and Blood, offering the bread and cup, and hallowing the elements.¹³ If we had the thousands on thousands of extempore consecration prayers which the early church produced ἐν πολὺ (as Justin says), how much repetition we would find, and how many 'moments' of consecration they would reveal!¹⁴

Once we appreciate the fact that the prayer of hallowing did not necessarily involve a petition to transform the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ, the casual references to the Eucharist in such theologians as Gregory of Nyssa, Optatus of Milevis and Basil be-

¹³ To these may be added the naming of the name of God or Christ, of which so much has been made lately (cf. Dom Connolly in *J. T. S.*, vol. 25, pp. 337 ff.; and Dom Dix in *The Shape of the Liturgy*, 1944, p. 274-5). But it may be doubted whether this was ever much in vogue outside Gnostic and Egyptian circles (e.g., *Acts of John*, 109-110; *Acts of Thomas*, 49-50; *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 82. 1; and Serapion's first prayer over the oil, 1. 5). The concluding doxology required in all benedictions (Hipp., *Apostolic Tradition*, 6. 4) may have its origin in the naming of the name; but the primitive mystic significance of the latter attaches rather to exorcism than to consecration in the early church.

¹⁴ Along with this diversity of themes there went a number of apparent antitheses, e.g., Christ as Host and Feast, as Priest and Victim; the Bishop as representing now Christ, now the Apostles. These antitheses are not mutually exclusive: they belong to the language of worship, not of logic. It is for this reason that I think Dom Dix's sharp distinction (*Shape of the Liturgy*, pp. 280 ff.) between Christ as active and passive, in the typically Western and Eastern views of consecration, is rather misleading. It would be comparable to imagining that the fourth-century church viewed our Lord as *passive* in the Incarnation, since they understood the Conception as the work of the Holy Spirit rather than of the Logos!

¹² Serapion, for instance, attributes the change of the elements *both* to the Dominical Words and to the descent of the Logos; the Roman Canon has two prayers of hallowing, one before, one after the Institution; the transition from the *Sanctus* to the Institution in Egypt similarly involved a prayer of hallowing before the Dominical Words.

come clearer. We need neither exaggerate nor minimize the significance of these texts.¹⁵ What they point to is some prayer of hallowing, of whose exact nature we cannot be sure. We must remember that early benedictions were phrased in many different ways; and though such sacramental actions were mostly understood by the theologians to be the work of the Holy Spirit (the "Provider of Hallowing"¹⁶), explicit reference to Him may not always have been made in the prayers.¹⁷

A simple petition that God would sanctify the oblation would suffice to explain such a passage as we encounter in Gregory of Nyssa.¹⁸ The same ap-

plies to the reference in Basil¹⁹ who only points out that, in addition to the Words of Institution, "other words" have "great force for the mystery." Such a passing remark itself attests the fact that Basil had no clearly developed idea of a 'moment' of consecration.

In Optatus of Milevis²⁰ and Peter of Alexandria²¹ a more definite invocation

sure evidence) he speaks of "the sanctification of the Spirit." Evidently, for him, the Spirit is the Power of the Word, and it is a nice conjecture to which of the two he referred in his Anaphora, immediately after this Epiphany sermon! It may be added that the passage in *Cat. Orat.* 37 *ad fin.* (P.G., 45. 96-7) gives no support to a "Western" moment of consecration in Gregory of Nyssa, for it can be paralleled by Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat. Lect.*, 22. 6.

¹⁵ Cf. the treatment accorded them by Atchley, E.G.C.F., *On The Epiclesis* (1935), and by Dom Dix in his articles in *Theology*, vol. 28, pp. 125 ff., 187 ff.; and vol. 29, pp. 287 ff.

¹⁶ ἁγιασμὸν χορηγός, from the Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus (Hahn 3, p. 253).

¹⁷ With regard to the sacramental oil, for instance, it is not, I think, until the Gelasian Sacramentary (ed. H. A. Wilson, p. 70) that we find a petition to send the Holy Spirit on the oil. The *Apostolic Tradition* (5. 2, cf. 6. 2) merely uses "sanctificans." In Serapion (1. 5) we find the naming of the name (typical of Egypt), and a petition to send "healing power" on the water and oil. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (8. 29) prays, "Sanctify this water and this oil . . . and grant a power of producing health, etc." The Nestorian form (Denzinger, *Rit. Orient.*, 1864, vol. 2, p. 518) reads, "Cause to dwell in it (the *Hanana*) the right hand of thy pity and the virtue of the Holy Spirit." In the light of this we cannot be sure that a petition for "sanctifying," which would be readily interpreted as an action of the Holy Spirit, invariably referred to Him.

¹⁸ In *Bapt. Chr.* (P.L., 46. 581). It is an interesting fact that, in referring to the one prayer where we may be sure the Spirit was invoked, i.e., ordination, Gregory speaks of "the Power of the Word." Concerning the sacramental oil and wine (where there is no

¹⁹ *De Spiritu Sancto*, 27. 66 (P.G., 32. 188).
²⁰ *De Schism. Don.*, 6. 1. (P.L., 11. 1065), "altars . . . whereon the Holy Spirit used to descend after having been asked for." Cf. Augustine, *De Trin.*, 3. 4. 10. Regarding the earlier passage in Cyprian (Ep. 63. 4), Dom Dix is certainly right in pointing out that the Spirit is viewed as consecrating Fortunatian (*Theology*, vol. 28, p. 187). But I think it is going beyond the evidence to add to this, "not as consecrating the Eucharist." Why does the priest need the Holy Spirit, if not to perform sacramental actions through His agency? Similarly, Cyprian's reference to the cleansing and hallowing of the font (Ep. 69. 1, *ad Jan.*) can hardly be understood apart from Tertullian's insistence that the Spirit comes down, rests on the waters and hallows them (*De Bapt.*, 4 and 8; note the parallel with the Incarnation in par. 8). We may not be sure whether it is God or Christ or the Spirit who is directly invoked in a sacramental action, but it seems clear that Cyprian views the action as one of the Holy Spirit, and this would presuppose some prayer of hallowing.

²¹ Cited in Theodoret, *H. E.*, 4. 22. 6. The stress here and in Optatus (op. cit.) is upon the Holy Spirit as Sanctifier, in contrast to the desecration of the altar by Arians or Donatists.

of the Spirit seems implied. Of the passage in Ambrose, however, we must speak more cautiously, for it is possible he is not referring to the Consecration Prayer at all.²²

²² *De Spiritu Sancto*, 3. 16. 112 (P.L., 16. 803). If the *De Sacramentis* reflects the liturgy of Milan in the time of Ambrose (see Dom Connolly's *The 'De Sacramentis' a Work of Ambrose*, 1943), this reference can scarcely refer to the prayer of hallowing, which, in that liturgy, was twofold: the *Quam oblationem* and the petition regarding the Heavenly Altar. Can Ambrose be referring to the *Sanctus*? The trinitarian interpretation of Isaiah 6. 3 is the burden of this passage, and the Holy Spirit "is invoked (*with the Father and the Son*) in the oblations." The "et," I think, entails this implicit parallelism. It would seem that the *Sanctus* was current in some parts of the West not later than the end of the fourth century, for it is referred to by Niceta of Remesiana, and its form (*Dominus Deus Sabaoth*) is the old Latin version of Is. 6. 3 (so here in Ambrose; Jerome, Ep. 18. 7, v.l.; Niceta, in P.L., 52. 864). The "Deus" is scarcely connected with the *Sanctus* of the Syriac Liturgy of St. James (as Dom Dix suggests, *Shape of the Liturgy*, p. 538), for the Latin and Syriac forms do not coincide in other details. Perhaps (as Probst intimated), the "laudes" of *De Sacr.* 4. 4. 14 are a reference to the *Sanctus*, and the trinitarian interpretation of Isaiah 6. 3 (which is as early as Athanasius, *In Illud Omnia*, 6) may have been responsible for its introduction in some Western liturgies. Anyway, soon after 381, Niceta of Remesiana, in some catechetical lectures, speaks of adoring the Trinity, "sicut in mysteriis ore nostro dicimus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth" (P.L., 52. 864; wrongly attributed to Niceta of Aguleia). This may throw light on the passage in Ambrose. It may be noted, furthermore, that while Ambrose is dependent on Didymus for much of his material in the *De Sp. Sancto* (vide Jerome's scurrilous attack), Didymus has nothing to correspond to this reference. Ambrose is not borrowing a passage, which refers to the Egyptian *Sanctus* or to an Egyptian prayer of hallowing.

It was out of the primitive prayer of hallowing that the later Epiclesis developed. For two reasons the old Logos petition lent itself especially to the change. On the one hand it prayed for the transformation of the elements by the descent of the Logos: on the other hand it expressed the idea that the Eucharist in some way paralleled the Incarnation.²³ When, in the course of the trinitarian controversy, the Spirit was clearly differentiated from the Logos, and viewed as playing a distinctive role in the Incarnation, the old Logos hallowing was recast in the new trinitarian form.²⁴ Where, however, the prayer of hallowing had been different, the technical Epiclesis was slower in developing. The Anaphora of *Addai and Mari* was never revised to conform to the new

²³ Cf. Serapion and Justin. In the theology of the later Epiclesis this parallel is well brought out by John of Damascus, *De Fid. Orth.*, 4. 13. To the endless discussion on Justin's passage (*ἐν εὐχῇ λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ*, I Apol. 66), I would only point out that the parallel phrase, *λόγῳ εὐχῇ καὶ εὐχαριστίας* (I Apol. 13), which is sometimes cited to substantiate the translation of *λόγον* by "form (of prayer)," is not as "unequivocal" as Dom Dix suggests (*Theology*, vol. 28, p. 188 n). Justin is arguing against the irrational nature of pagan worship, and in contrast stresses the *logos* of Christian prayer and thanksgiving (cf. "honouring (the Trinity)" *λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ*, I Apol. 6). I would interpret the crucial passage thus: As the Incarnation occurred through God's "Logos-Power," so through Christ's "Logos-Power" in a prayer, the elements are changed. The "Logos-Power" which comes from Christ seems to be indicated by *ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ*, in *Dial. cum Tryph.* 116.

²⁴ Cyril of Jerusalem even calls it, *ἐπίκλησις τῆς προσκυνητῆς τριάδος*, *Cat. Lect.*, 19. 7. It is not an invocation addressed to the Trinity, but a petition which involves the joint action of the Trinity. Cyril, however, does not bring out the Incarnation parallel.

usage, though this was current in East Syria by the fifth century.²⁵ At Rome, moreover, it seems to have been adopted only temporarily in the time of that innovating Pope, Gelasius.²⁶

A good deal has been made of the fact that, in the literature of the Macedonian controversy, there are practically no references to the work of the Spirit in the Eucharist.²⁷ How is this to be explained, if a prayer of hallowing by the Spirit was sometimes customary?

It is possible to argue that theologians, still under the influence of the *disciplina arcani*, had a natural reticence to refer to the subject. Furthermore, there was no text of Scripture to support the special operation of the Spirit in the Liturgy. While both these arguments have weight, I think the main reason is that the doctrine of a moment of consecration had not yet developed.

²⁵ In the later, fifth-century Anaphoras of "Theodore" and "Nestorius" the petition for the change into the Body and Blood of Christ seems to be added to the older idea of the elements being filled with "Spirit."

²⁶ *Ep. ad Elpidium* (P.L., 59. 143). This reference can hardly be explained away. I would venture the suggestion that the introduction of the Epiclesis temporarily at Rome might account for the transposition of the *Supplices te* and *Supra quae* from their original order (*De Sacramentis*, 4. 6. 27).

²⁷ E.g., Dom Connolly in *Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, pp. 141 ff.

The argument would only have been pertinent in the controversy, if the Spirit had been viewed as transforming the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ. We have seen, however, that such a petition was characteristic of the Logos hallowing, rather than the Spirit hallowing. Consequently, general statements about the Spirit as the Sanctifier sufficed for the debate. Only when trinitarian doctrine was more fully developed, and the parallel between the Incarnation²⁸ and the Eucharist was clearly understood in this light, did the technical Epiclesis become at all widespread. One wonders, moreover, whether Cyril of Jerusalem, had he engaged in the controversy, would have said more than he did in his two lectures on the Holy Spirit, which studiously avoid Eucharistic references. Perhaps, too, even for him the matter was not crystal-clear. For, while the typical Epiclesis first emerges in his writings, he can attribute the transformation of the elements to the Dominical Words (*Cat. Lect.*, 22. 6), and he does not bring out the parallel with the Incarnation.

²⁸ Or the Resurrection, as in Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer and Sacraments*, ed. Mingana, 1933, p. 75. The Holy Spirit gives the body of our Lord immortality, a power it did not possess in its own nature.

WHICH PHILIP?

By ERIC BISHOP

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The fairly recent and delightful Church at Atbara in the Diocese of Egypt and the Sudan is dedicated in the name of "Philip the Deacon." Atbara, at the junction where the river, that gave its name to the place, flows into the Nile as its last great tributary, has become the natural railway center of the Northern Sudan. That the name of "Philip" should be connected with its church is fitting and natural;¹ for Atbara lies at the southern end of the Nubian desert, less than 100 miles from Merowe, as the aeroplane flies. Mero(w)e was one of the two main cities of the ancient Kingdom of Nubia, which had a history going back to the seventh century B.C. From Aswan (is it the Sinim to which Isaiah² refers?) to Khartum, the more southerly junction of the White and the Blue Nile, the Nubians inhabited the banks of the great river. These folk should not be confused with the Abyssinians; and the Philip, who gave the Eunuch the "good news" of Jesus, was in the company of a highly placed official from the court of the Candace—the title given to Queens of the Ethiopians.³ Perhaps one day the Church in the Northern Sudan will have another building dedicated to the anonymous official who brought the gos-

pel back to Nubia from the vicinity of Gaza. The remains of churches in the Merowe direction are witness to the fact that Christianity was still to be found in Nubia in the early centuries A.D.

The Church at Atbara follows one distinct tradition in its dedication; the word "deacon" is justified from the use of the corresponding verb and noun in Acts 6, even if the terminology is not quite correct. Perhaps this is also the reason why in the case of this particular dedication there is no "Saint" prefixed to Philip. On the other hand the Church in Nablus commemorating the ministry of (presumably) the same Philip in the neighboring city of Sebastia (much nearer by road to Nablus than Merowe by air to Atbara) is dedicated in the name of "Saint Philip."

Probably most people would regard this patron-saint too as the "Evangelist, one of the Seven," who eventually settled in Caesarea, and entertained St. Paul and his party on their disembarkation at the close of the third Missionary Journey.⁴ Yet even if the dedication of the Church in Nablus might leave the matter open as to the identification of the Philip in question, that in Atbara allows of no possible doubt whatever. For Atbara, the Philip of Acts 6 and 8 is one and the same as he of Acts 21. The point at issue in this article is whether the Philip of Acts 6 and 21 is the same as the Philip of Acts 8. Most of the commentaries seem to take it for granted that the dedication at Atbara is

¹ For the first time at Easter 1945 there was the confirmation of a Southern Sudani in the church of "Philip the Deacon."

² Isa. 49: 12.

³ Acts 8: 27. D reads after σὴν which might imply that the three words following Candace were intended as interpretative of the title.

⁴ Acts 21: 8.

correct—though perhaps, as at Nablus, they would not deny him the title of “Saint.” The Bible Dictionaries,⁵ however, concede that in the early days there was not always the clarity that the commentaries reveal. There was confusion in some early Christian thinking between Philip the Apostle and Philip the Evangelist. Some people were no more sure about the two “Philips” than they were about the two “Johns.” Their daughters too seem to have got mixed up. Both the Coptic and the Armenian Calendars speak of Philip as “Deacon and Apostle.” Eusebius is said to “share in the confusion,” while Tertullian “speaks of the Apostle Philip being snatched away from the eunuch.”⁶ This last statement is at any rate forthright; and is there any reason why it might not be true?

1. The book is called the “Acts of the Apostles,” and though one chapter is given up to the work of Stephen, the scene is Jerusalem, for ministry in which the Seven were appointed, and it need not follow necessarily that the ensuing story of the ministry of Philip must be that of the Evangelist. It was a new undertaking—doubtless due to the dispersion resulting from the persecution—but would not an *apostle* have been the person to undertake the mission to the leading city of Samaria, now that witness had been given naturally in the circle of the nations?⁷ While it is true that Philip not only evangelized and baptized, but performed signs and wonders—the former being mentioned twice—as a general rule the phrase oc-

curs in connection with the apostles, the one exception being Stephen;⁸ but his gift of doing them was exercised locally and so was circumscribed, the “Seven” being intended for ministry in Jerusalem. This fact should be borne in mind when the identification of Philip is considered.

2. The “Western” text has a few interesting additions in Acts 8. In verse 1 there is a double reason given for the dispersion—not only persecution but some kind of distress as well. This is accompanied by the statement that the apostles “remained in Jerusalem.” In verse 4 there is a reference in some authorities to the “dispersed” evangelizing in the *cities and villages of Judea*, whereas Samaria is mentioned in connection with those dispersed in verse 1. In verse 5 it is accordingly mentioned that Philip “went down to a city of Samaria.” Must not *κατελθών* mean *coming down from Jerusalem*, where only the apostles had been left? It is still always “up” to Jerusalem and “down” from it. Going to Beirut to-day is “going down” just as it was “going down” to Antioch in Acts 18: 22. Ramsay thought that *ἀναβάς* used in this verse meant “up” to Jerusalem from Caesarea. In Acts 15: 1, moreover, the “certain ones” who taught the brethren—also in Antioch—that circumcision was a necessity “came down from Judea.” Peter further in 9: 32 went down to Lydda, again *from Jerusalem*, though the Holy City is not mentioned.⁹ Luke is using the natural phraseology. “Thither the tribes go up”; and the converse is true that thence the tribes come down. Philip

⁵ *The Encyclopedia Biblica* treats the two as one subject.

⁶ H.D.B., iii, 835 note.

⁷ Cf. Acts 1: 8.

⁸ Acts 6: 8.

⁹ Acts 11: 27 has *κατῆλθεν*, but Jerusalem is mentioned.

then may well have been the first of the apostles to leave Jerusalem as the news of the evangelistic tours of some hundreds of dispersed filtered back again to their leaders. Kirsopp Lake calls attention to the fact that *μεν οὖν* "is, as usual, the sign of transition to a new episode."¹⁰ It was in fact another "act" of an "apostle."

3. There is a still more interesting "Western" addition, which is germane to this suggestion that in chapter 8 we have "Acts of the Apostle Philip." At the close of the second episode there are two "Western" readings—the first the whole of verse 37, which "passed into the Antiochene text, and so into the *Textus Receptus*."¹¹ This is the wind-up of the conversation between Philip and the eunuch, following on the first recorded identification of Jesus with the Suffering Servant of Isaiah 53—an identification which it is hard to resist thinking St. Luke must have felt was due to the conversations of the Lord with the apostolic band.¹² But two verses later (and here the Codex Alexandrinus is in support) come the words: "When they were come up out of the water the Holy Spirit fell upon the eunuch, but the angel of the Lord caught away Philip from him." This phrase bespeaks an apostle rather than "one of the Seven." Kirsopp Lake admits that it is possible that this reading "is original, and [was] omitted because of its contradiction to the narrative a few verses earlier, which implies that the Spirit came only through the hands of the apostles." Clark describes it as "this important reading." It is per-

haps the crux of the situation because it does look as if Peter and John may have come down (*καταβάντες*, Jerusalem being mentioned in the preceding verse) from the Holy City with the express purpose of conveying the gift of the Holy Ghost to the believers, as apostles—the gift of whom was beyond the powers of "one of the Seven" although he was capable of convincing "signs and wonders." But if the "Western" reading is original, it means either that the gift of the Spirit was not confined to the apostles (in which case perhaps we should find another major reason for the "coming down" of Peter and John), or that just as the gift was conferred through Peter and John in Samaria, so it was through Philip the apostle on the road that "goeth down" (*καταβαίνοντα*) from Jerusalem to Gaza. The question therefore remains as to why, if Philip could confer the gift of the Spirit to the eunuch, he could not or did not do so in the "city of Samaria," whether it was Sebastia or Gitta. If the Philip in question was "one of the Seven," the editing of Acts 8: 39 would seem natural on the part of an editor who felt the gift of the Spirit could not be communicated otherwise than through an apostle.¹³ This, however, could not be the objection, if Philip was the apostle. For there is a further argument for the originality of the excised clause, since the Philoxenian Syriac reads *κνρίου* for *ἀγίου*: so that "Homoeoteleuton" would account for the omission of the phrase, so far as some MSS are concerned.¹⁴ But the problem is not resolved by the admission that, granted the originality of Acts 8: 39 in the text

¹⁰ *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. IV, p. 88.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, 98.

¹² Luke 24: 44.

¹³ So Kirsopp Lake, *op. cit.*, V, 53, 108.

¹⁴ Clark, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 312, 345.

Professor Clark calls Z, the Philip mentioned must have been the Apostle, because he was able to confer the gift of the Spirit on the eunuch; for, after all, in the case of Cornelius the Spirit was given to the believers previously to their baptism. Hence this episode might well be treated as in the same somewhat unique category as that of Cornelius, though Peter was present at the gift of the Spirit in the latter case. We have therefore to approach the problem from another angle. Philip does drop out of the Samaritan picture, whether he was the apostle or the "deacon." There is no certain information as to whether he was still in the "city" on the arrival of Peter and John, and then "made himself scarce," or whether the further call to take the Gaza road came to him before they arrived. And are we really further on in identification, if it can be shown that the two "Philips" were one and the same?¹⁵ Philip in the Acts was appointed to "serve tables," and at one time in the career of the Philip of the Fourth Gospel his interest in the same kind of calculation that would be needed for jobs that came the way of the "Seven" was exploited by our Lord! Nor are we any further on if he was one of the Seventy as well as one of the "Seven."

It is perhaps possible to approach the problem from the picture that we have of Philip in St. John's Gospel with its fourfold reference.¹⁶ The first glimpse is of the call of Philip when Jesus went after him, with the result that the new disciple started on personal

work with the attempt to win Nathaniel through a remarkable intuition of his own as to the identity of Jesus with him of whom Moses and the prophets wrote. We cannot but recall the later instance of his personal work. "Of whom speaketh the prophet, of himself or some other man?" Beginning at the same scripture, Philip preached unto him Jesus.—Philip certainly had a familiarity with the Old Testament, more especially its pertinent passages! It would be interesting to know whether the eunuch had procured a copy of the Septuagint version of Isaiah; but, whichever Philip it was, his name implies some Greek background. The quotation is word for word from the LXX.¹⁷

The next picture shows Philip with Andrew not far from their native Bethsaida, and Jesus turned to Philip, the disciple whom *he* had called alone among the four, and sought to enlist his help in the problem of food supply. Philip (in the words of Archbishop Temple), "daunted by the sheer magnitude of the task . . . gives it up." It was not his line. This surely bears some resemblance to what took place in the first of the "Philip" episodes of Acts. He had gone to the "city of Samaria"; the success attending his efforts was phenomenal and overwhelming; the man who might have remained a rival seemed convinced. But Philip could not face the sheer magnitude of the task alone; he hardly felt it was in his line; it was a case for those whom St. Paul called the *ὑπερλίαν* apostles,¹⁸ so there was nothing for it but for Peter and John on hearing what was happen-

¹⁵ It has been held that identification would simplify the issue.

¹⁶ John 1: 43 f.; 6: 5-7; 12: 20 f.; 14: 8 f.

¹⁷ Acts 8: 32, 33; Isa. 53: 7, 8.

¹⁸ II Cor. 11: 5.

ing to come down from Jerusalem; and Philip quietly slipped away; though, as it happened, on a job of more personal import for which he was admirably equipped. Philip was too diffident to occupy the central position in the picture. Did he incline to shirk responsibility when it became more than he could face?

The third cameo has certain resemblances with the second; for when the Greeks came with the request to "see Jesus," once again Andrew was near at hand, and Philip exercised his customary caution when up against big problems; while Andrew helped him to solve the problem in the only way that Andrew knew. Archbishop Temple has suggested that Philip's name may represent "Greek parentage," in which case his Greek must have been proficient, and would be a further reason for his being sent in the first instance to Samaria, where it is at least probable that Greek was the *lingua franca*. Though it may not be clear whether the Greeks did really come to Jesus and hear what he had to say,¹⁹ what he did say on that occasion was expressly spoken to Philip and Andrew—words as deep as any he ever uttered. "If the corn of wheat do not fall into the earth and die, it abideth itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit." Surely words that "stuck"—words which the rapid events of the next few days only emphasized. No wonder that Philip had the answer ready and availing for the eunuch's question on the Gaza Road. How could he do anything else but preach unto him Jesus? If Philip was the apostle chiefly responsible for this

identification of Jesus with the Suffering Servant, there is at least a reason for it arising out of this request of the Greeks. Their "We would see Jesus," expressed to a somewhat hesitating Philip, opened the door to more of Philip's intuitions; and the last glimpse we have of his apostolic ministry is the eunuch on his way rejoicing, having seen Jesus from what Philip told him.

But we must not forget the fourth Johannine reference to Philip, perhaps more of a key to his ministry than anything else. "Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us." He knew Moses and the prophets; they still spoke to him of God; but he wanted something more. His intuition once again knew there was something further on; only he did not know he had it all the time. "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father." "I am assured, with no tremor of a doubt," writes Archbishop Temple, "that fellowship with Jesus is fellowship with God."²⁰ Was it not the assurance granted to Philip that evening before the Cross, which despite his hesitancy and diffidence has made him the Apostle-Saint of most of Africa. May we go further and suggest that the assertion of his natural diffidence in Samaria, once the problem of organization somewhat overwhelmed him, sent him forth on a vitally important personal mission, for that highly-placed Nubian official reached his far-off home with the memory of the interpretation of the kernel of the Christian Gospel, which he had missed in his visit to Jerusalem? Philip preached unto him the Jesus who had taken the trouble to call him; who had tested him in times of emergency, and who had twice spoken to him words un-

¹⁹ See Archbishops Bernard and Temple *ad loc.*

²⁰ Temple's *Readings*, Vol. II, *ad loc.*

forgettable for any minister of Christ. Is there not at least sufficient evidence from the relevant passages in Acts for thinking Philip the *Apostle* to have been the founder of the work in Samaria and the evangelizer of the eunuch? And

does not the picture in the Fourth Gospel harmonize with the material in Acts? There was really no need for further (apocryphal) Acts of Philip! ²¹

²¹ E.g., M. R. James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 439-453.

THE RECONCILIATION TENDENZ IN MATTHEW

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When Matthew's Gospel assumed its present form, one of the chief issues among the North Syrian churches was reconciliation. The author modified or interpolated passages to emphasize its imperative necessity no less than fourteen times. This reconciliation tendenz is perhaps a basis for dating the final edition of the Gospel as late as the Jewish rebellions of 116-117 A.D.

In the Beatitudes, Matthew has converted the class antagonism of Q into questions that are inner and spiritual. For the four woes he has substituted blessings for the meek (5: 5), the merciful (vs. 7), the pure in heart (vs. 8), the peacemakers (v. 9), and he has expanded the words to the persecuted (vs. 11). These additions are all derived from the Old Testament and Apocrypha. Such a reinterpretation of Jesus' words is well in accord with trends in Judaism at the time when he was writing.¹ His "Blessed are the meek" duplicates the first Beatitude, the difference between the Hebrew עני "poor" and ענוה "meek" be-

ing mostly between a privation inflicted from without and one that is voluntary. The saying is derived from Psalm 37: 11 in the Septuagint, "The meek shall inherit the land." This praise of meekness is not to be confused with genuine sayings of Jesus where entrance into the Kingdom is limited to those who have a childlike spirit, in contrast to the self-seeking ambition of certain would-be disciples.

Matthew is the only Evangelist to apply *πραῖς* to Jesus himself: one of his two instances (11: 28) being from a current Wisdom writing; the other (21: 5) from the picture of the lowly king in Zechariah 9: 9. For this submissive and, at times, feminine quality (1 Pet. 3: 4), he is indebted to the Servant Christology. The "meekness and gentleness of Christ" (2 Cor. 10: 1), stressed in the Christian Mystery, are balanced in the historic life of our Lord by wrath and aggressive action against those in high places.

Matthew's blessing on the peacemakers is a common theme in Jewish writings: "Blessed is he who implants peace and love" (2 Enoch 52: 11); "Be of the disciples of Aaron, one that loves peace, that pursues peace" (Aboth. 1: 12); "May the Lord establish the man

¹ See H. Marriott, *The Sermon on the Mount* (1925), pp. 78 f., 141-149; Strack and Billerbeck, *in loc.* For blessing on the poor and curse on the rich, see Ps. 140: 12 LXX; 1 Sam. 2: 8; Ps. 35: 10; 72: 12 ff.; T. Jud. 25: 4; Ps. Sol. 10: 7; Enoch 94: 6-8; 96: 4 ff.; 97: 7 ff.

that followeth peace at home" (Ps. Sol. 12: 6). We are even more on Jewish soil with the blessing on the merciful, which expresses the heart of the Hasid-Pharisee movement.² It is exactly similar to the Tanhuma saying, "When thou hast mercy upon thy fellow, thou hast One to have mercy on thee."³

The little parables of the Savorless Salt and the Lamp under the Bushel in 5: 13-16 are other instances of reshaping Jesus' words. Originally both referred to the degenerate leaders of the nation. Mark's addition, "Have salt in yourselves, and be at peace one with another" (9: 50), was a needless inference, for in the ancient world salt was a symbol of the conservative forces of society. Hence Matthew was content with the shorter Q form. In accord with the accepted connotation of salt, he converted Jesus' rebuke, against those whom God had cast down from their positions of authority, into an injunction to his followers to be the means of knitting mankind together. He similarly adapted the parable of the Lamp, to remind believers that the very existence of society depended upon their display of kindly deeds.

A third example of this tendenz is the group of sayings where he makes Jesus contrast his teaching with that of the Rabbis (5: 21 ff., 27 ff., 33 ff., 38 ff., 43 ff.). As preserved by Luke (6: 27) the words "But I say unto you" compare the conduct appropriate to Jesus' followers with that of the upper class: they have nothing to do with the superiority of his message to Judaism.

² E.g., 2 Sam. 22: 26/Ps. 18: 25; Ps. 41: 1; Mic. 6: 8; Sirach 28: 1 ff.; T. Zeb. 5: 1-5; T. Benj. 4: 1 ff.; T. Gad. 6: 7; 2 Enoch 42: 13.

³ Cited in G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, ii.154. Cf. Shab. 151b; Midrash Tan. to Deut. 15: 11.

Luke's application is clearly the original and Matthew's secondary. The unhistoricity of Matthew's framework characterizes the content also. The first comparison that extends forbidding murder to that of feelings of hatred is peculiar to Matthew (5: 21 ff.). As it is paralleled at every point by current Jewish teaching,⁴ there is no need to push the quest for authorship beyond the Evangelist himself. The Defendant Parable that follows is typical also of Matthew's tendenz. In its original context, Luke 12: 57-59, it is a saying of crisis in which man is exhorted to make his peace with God while he yet has the chance.⁵ But Matthew has made it mean reconciliation of man to man.

The second and third contrasts impute to Jesus superior teaching to Judaism on sex (5: 27 ff.) and on the guarding of speech (5: 33 ff.).⁶ The author next returns to his theme of reconciliation. The fourth contrast opens with a repudiation of the *lex talionis* (5: 38 ff.),

⁴ Comparing Sirach 28: 3-5 to Matt. 6: 12-15, etc., Abrahams observes, "This teaching of Jesus, son of Sirach, is absolutely identical with that of Jesus of Nazareth"—*Studies I*, 155 f.; cf. *ibid.* 161 ff. The Essene, according to Hippolytus, "will not hate anyone who has done him injustice, but will pray for his enemies"—Haer. ix.18-28.

The rabbis too taught that it was futile to pray to God when conscious of having injured others. Hence even at the altar, he who still held stolen goods had to stop his sacrifice to make restitution—Tos. Baba Kamma 10: 18. Abrahams notes that the superior display of love in the early Christian communities is characteristic of new movements—*op. cit.*, 160 f.

⁵ See C. H. Dodd, *Parables of the Kingdom*, pp. 135-139.

⁶ See Strack and Billerbeck, I. 294-337. The words about the offending eye and hand are misapplied from Mark 9: 43-48, where the context has to do with injury of God's little ones.

about which Matthew is at one with the rabbis he so despises.⁷ The changes in the passage on the expropriated garment display three of his most characteristic forms of tendenz. In order to support his thesis that to him who demands small things one should offer what is great as well, he converts Jesus' teaching on sacrificing to win an opponent into a legal process to gain possession of an undershirt.

Nor is there ground for regarding the fifth contrast of love toward enemies and hatred (5: 43) as genuine. In the Lucan form there is no comparison between the old Law and the new. As to personal enemies, Judaism taught much the same as did Jesus. Nowhere in Jewish writings can one find a command to "hate thine enemy"—although there are plenty enjoining hatred of the enemies of God, a different subject on which no teaching of Jesus has been preserved.

To the Lord's Prayer, Matthew added the words conditioning forgiveness by God on forgiveness of men (6: 14 f.). This idea, paralleled in part by Mark 11: 25, was conventional Jewish teaching. He borrowed the wording from Sirach (e.g., 7: 14; 28: 1 f.). His addition gives the impression that the chief theme of the Lord's Prayer was forgiveness, whereas in reality the emphasis was on bringing God's Kingdom down to earth.

Even more than does the Second Source, Matthew connects Jesus with the Servant of Isaiah, as is seen in his interpretations of the healings (8: 17; cf. Isa. 53: 17) and in the application to him of Isaiah 42: 1 ff. in 12: 17-19.

⁷ See my forthcoming volume, *Gospel Backgrounds*, chap. 8.E; cf. Baba Kamma 4: 1 ff.

This revival of a Christology that had passed its prime by more than half a century seems further evidence of the author's interest in reconciliation.

The fourth book of Matthew (13: 54—19: 1a), which is chiefly devoted to problems of church administration, reaches its climax in 17: 24—18: 35, a part devoted entirely to reconciliation. Church unity was one of the outstanding issues in the North Syrian churches.⁸ To emphasize the principles on which accord depended, the author omitted what was not suitable in Mark and added fragments from Q and current midrash.

First comes the fish story (17: 24-27), in which genuine words of Jesus on the principle of tax resistance are metamorphosed into the duty of conciliating the Jewish members of the congregation by paying the half-shekel to the Temple. Following this is the glorifying of the child spirit (18: 1-5) and the injunction to consider the feelings of the very least, whose continued fellowship in the church is of vast importance to their Lord (vv. 6-14). Though most of the material is derived from Mark, Matthew's shaping hand is seen in the handling of the parable of the Ninety and Nine from Q (vv. 12-14) in the interpolation, "See that ye despise not one of these little ones . . ." (vs. 10), and in omission of what was not relevant to his special theme. The passage on procedure in settling differences (vv. 15-17) may be a fragment of Jacobean canon law,⁹ expanded perhaps from a Q say-

⁸ Cf. B. W. Bacon, *Studies in Matthew*, pp. 397-411.

⁹ "Let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican" (vs. 17) hardly expresses the viewpoint of the North Syrian churches. Cf. B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 258, n. 1.

ing (cf. Luke 17: 3); the logion that follows on the authority of like-minded believers (vv. 18-20) also has a Jewish flavor.¹⁰ Even though not creations of Matthew himself, they have been carefully selected and adapted by him to emphasize his special theme.

One of the clearest examples of his tendenz is the command to forgive till seventy times seven (vv. 21 f.). According to Luke 17: 4, one was to forgive a neighbor no matter how often he sinned. But Matthew has taken the "seven times in the day" as a restriction which required a corrective polemic. Just as he expanded the previous words in the Second Source on showing a brother his fault (Luke 17: 3 = Matt. 18: 15) by adding rules for church procedure (Matt. 18: 16 f.), so he embellishes the teaching on forgiveness with the midrash of the Unforgiving Servant (Matt. 18: 23-34). He makes Peter responsible for a paltry seven-fold pardon and Jesus an advocate of a pardon so vast as to set the new dispensation in relief against the old. The degree of forgiveness was to equal the degree of vengeance in Israel's earliest poem:

For I have slain a man for wounding me,
And a young man for brusing me:
If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold,
Truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.

—Gen. 4: 23 f.¹¹

¹⁰ On binding and loosing, here and in Matt. 16: 19, see G. Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, pp. 213-217. The basic thought is that the heavenly Sanhedrin confirms the decisions of the earthly. On points of Law, Hillelites "loosed" what Shammaites "bound." See also A. H. McNeile, *St. Matthew*, in loc.

¹¹ Sevenfold punishment is frequent in the O.T.: e.g., Gen. 4: 15; Lev. 26: 21-24, 28; Prov. 6: 31; Ps. 79: 12. The only mention of seventy times seven is in the Song of Lamech

His fifth book (19: 1 b-28: 20) contains the notable injunction to quietism which he interpolates into the Marcan narrative of the arrest:

Put up again thy sword into its place: for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Or thinkest thou that I cannot beseech my Father, and he shall even now send me more than twelve legions of angels? How then should the scriptures be fulfilled, that thus it must be?—Matt. 26: 52-54.

For the solution of political and social problems, he has Jesus enjoin complete dependence upon miracles. The interpolation is the more significant in that the incident involved actual fighting.

Finally there is the brief clause interpolated into the trial scene, "He answered nothing." This linked Jesus more fully with the Servant of Isaiah: "As a lamb that is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before its shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth" (Isa. 53: 7). As the gracious Wisdom of God, with whom the Servant is associated, Jesus is made to rely exclusively on appeals to man's conscience and to suffer death rather than have recourse to physical weapons. In all this, Matthew makes of Jesus an example to the members of the Syrian churches who too were tempted to draw a sword in self-defence.

More subtle than alterations that proclaim the duty of building peace is the reconciliation which attempts to harmonize conflicting church doctrines. Like the Peter factions to which it owed its origin, Matthew was a Gospel of

and the words Matthew has imputed to Jesus. Streeter uses the intermediate version of Ev. Hebr. to support his theory of an M source (*The Four Gospels*, p. 281 f.). But he overlooks the fact that Ev. Hebr. is itself dependent upon Matthew.

compromise.¹² It corrects Mark's excessive Hellenizing, which makes Jesus pronounce "all meats clean" (Mark 7: 19) and sends him outside the Holy Land (Mark 7: 24 ff.; cf. Matt. 15: 24 ff.); though it satisfied Judaizers by restricting him to a wholly Jewish mission e.g., Matt. 10: 6; 15: 24), it satisfied Hellenists by proclaiming the Great Commission (28: 19; cf. 8: 11 f.). These efforts are the more significant in view of the author's personal animosity.

This aspect of Matthew's tendenz ap-

pears to have been born of the situation in which the Syrian churches found themselves at the opening of the second century. Within themselves there were conflicting groups which had to adjust their differences in order to witness to the heathen world. Yet more urgent was the need of separating Christians from the political aims of the Jewish nation. The pacifist slant which had been inherited from orthodox Judaism had given much added momentum. But the result was an attenuating of the element of social revolution in the mission of Jesus.

¹² Cf. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 511 ff.

THE DAY AND HOUR OF PASSOVER OBSERVANCE IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

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If an answer is desired to the question concerning the exact time when the passover was slain and eaten in the New Testament period, there is no better way in which this answer may be secured than to accept the evidence of the contemporary authorities of the time. If we should find a number of independent witnesses from that period expressing themselves upon this question, and if these authorities should agree with one another as to both the day of the month and the time of day, then should we be in a position to know just when the passover was slain and the paschal meal eaten in such places and by such individuals as are represented by the authorities in question.

From the latter part of the second century B.C. comes the testimony of the

Book of Jubilees written in Hebrew by a Pharisee. Concerning the observance of the passover Jubilees gives the following instruction:

Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded thee concerning the passover, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shouldst kill it before it is evening, and that they should eat it by night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of the setting of the sun. . . . Let the children of Israel come and observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, on the fourteenth day of the first month, between the evenings, from the third part of the day to the third part of the night, for two portions of the day are given to the light, and a third part to the evening. This is that which the Lord commanded thee that thou shouldst observe it between the evenings. And it is not permissible to slay it during any period of the light, but during the period bordering on the evening, and let them eat it at the time of the

evening until the third part of the night, and whatever is left over of all its flesh from the third part of the night and onwards, let them burn it with fire.¹

This testimony from the writer of Jubilees is very explicit, and is so clear concerning the exact time of the slaying and eating of the passover as to admit of no ambiguity. According to this authority the passover was to be slain on the afternoon of the fourteenth, "before it is evening." This point is particularly stressed, that the slaying should take place in the afternoon, during the light part of the day "bordering on the evening." And it is also specifically stated that the paschal meal was to be eaten "on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of the setting of the sun." This testimony makes it clear that at least a century before Christ there were those among the Jews who held the view that the time when the passover was to be slain was on the afternoon of Nisan 14 and that the time of the eating of the paschal meal was to be after sunset that day, which according to ancient Jewish custom would be the next calendrical day, Nisan 15. The testimony of other writers of the period should indicate whether or not this view was generally accepted by the Jewish people of that age.

Our next witness is Philo of Alexandria, a contemporary of Christ. Philo repeatedly gives Nisan 14 as the day of the passover.² Concerning the hour of

the day when the sacrifices were to be slain he declares:

After the New Moon comes the fourth feast, called the Crossing-feast, which the Hebrews in their native tongue called Pascha. In this festival many myriads of victims from noon till eventide are offered by the whole people, old and young alike, raised for that particular day to the dignity of the priesthood. For at other times the priests according to the ordinance of the law carry out both the public sacrifices and those offered by private individuals. But on this occasion the whole nation performs the sacred rites and acts as priest with pure hands and complete immunity. The reason for this is as follows: the festival is a reminder and thank-offering for that great migration from Egypt which was made by more than two millions of men and women in obedience to the oracles vouchsafed to them.³

It will be noticed that this testimony of Philo that the sacrifices of the paschal lambs were to be offered "from noon till eventide" is in perfect agreement with the witness of Jubilees concerning an afternoon sacrifice on Nisan 14. Philo calls attention to the "many myriads of victims" which were slain during the afternoon of the passover feast. What were these "myriads of victims" if they were not the passover lambs? The claim has been made that they include many different types of sacrificial offerings made by the people during the passover season but that they did not include the vital passover lambs. But it was the paschal lamb which was the one outstanding offering of the passover season, and it was this offering that overshadowed everything else on that important occasion. Is it reasonable to suppose that a Jewish writer when giving his very vivid and explicit description of the passover festival would, when mentioning the offerings of that occa-

¹ Book of Jubilees, 49.1, 2, 10-12. R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Vol. II, pp. 79, 80. Oxford, 1913.

² Philo, Vol. VI, *On the Life of Moses*, II.xli.224; xlii.228. Tr. by Colson. Harvard University Press, 1935. Loeb Classical Library; Vol. VII, *Special Laws*, II.xxvii.148; Tr. by Colson. London, 1937.

³ *Ibid.*, 145, 146.

sion, include anything and everything except the one sacrifice of supreme importance? Such would hardly be likely. It was the passover lamb which made the passover, and it was this offering above everything else that would engage the attention at such a time when the lambs were brought by the multitudes in such tremendous numbers. Philo's "myriads of victims" slain by the people "from noon till eventide" were obviously the paschal lambs. Josephus also was greatly impressed by the great numbers of passover sacrifices made by the people on this occasion and repeatedly mentions it.⁴

It should also be noted that Philo calls particular attention to the fact that the offering of the "myriads of victims" at the paschal service was a most unusual type of sacrifice in that on this occasion the people themselves acted as priests, performing the sacrificial rites which on all other occasions were strictly reserved to the priests. Elsewhere he again refers to this same feature:

In this month, about the fourteenth day, when the disc of the moon is becoming full, is held the commemoration of the crossing, a public festival called in Hebrew Pasch, on which the victims are not brought to the altar by the laity and sacrificed by the priests, but, as commanded by the law, the whole nation acts as priest, each individual bringing what he offers on his own behalf and dealing with it with his own hands.⁵

What are these offerings which on this one occasion of the year are made by the people themselves acting as priests and are brought in such unparalleled numbers if they are not the passover lambs? It would be strange indeed if they should

include all other offerings so common at all seasons of the year but exclude the one sacrifice which made the passover season the outstanding feast of the year, the paschal lamb. Every indication is that when Philo mentions the "many myriads of victims" which were brought by the multitudes at the paschal feast and were slain by them "from noon till eventide" he had reference directly to the passover lambs.

Continuing his description of the passover service Philo declares:

On this day every dwelling-house is invested with the outward semblance and dignity of a temple. The victim is then slaughtered and dressed for the festal meal which benefits the occasion. The guests assembled for the banquet have been cleansed by purificatory lustrations, and are there not as in other festive gatherings, to indulge the belly with wine and viands, but to fulfil with prayers and hymns the custom handed down by their fathers. The day on which this national festivity occurs may very properly be noted. It is the 14th of the month.⁶

It will be noticed that while Jubilees states specifically that the paschal lambs were to be slain on the afternoon of the fourteenth and eaten on the evening beginning the fifteenth, Philo after giving a description of both the slaying of the lambs and the eating of the feast merely states that the day on which this national festivity occurs is the fourteenth of the month. Does he mean by this that both sacrifice and feast took place on the fourteenth according to the old Hebrew method of reckoning where the end of the day took place at sunset? If so the paschal lambs could not have been slain in the afternoon of the fourteenth, for when the sun went down on

⁴ *Ant.*, XIV.ii.2; XVII. ix.3; *War*, II. i.3; VI. ix.3.

⁵ Philo, Vol. VI, *Moses*, II. xli.224.

⁶ Philo, Vol. VII, *Special Laws*, II. xxvii.148, 149.

that afternoon the fifteenth of the month began. In order to have both the slaying and eating of the lamb on one calendar day which began and ended at sunset, it would be necessary for the slaying as well as the eating to take place in the evening.

The problem resolves itself into the question as to whether Philo when he declares that the day of this national festivity is the fourteenth was endeavoring to speak in strictly technical terms in harmony with the old Jewish calendrical custom, or whether he was speaking in somewhat looser terms, more in harmony with the Roman and Egyptian customs where no termination of a calendrical day took place when the sun went down. Did the Jews of that period ever employ this contemporary method of reckoning and speak in somewhat more natural and looser terms? A very good evidence that they did is the statement of John concerning Jesus' meeting with His disciples on the Sunday evening of resurrection day. Concerning the early morning of that day John declares: "The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre." John 21: 1. And of the evening of that day he says: "Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you." John 20: 19. It will be noted that John when speaking of early Sunday morning calls it the "first day of the week," and when speaking of Sunday evening calls it "the same day," the "first day of the week." When evening began the sun had set,

and, strictly speaking, a new day, the second day of the week, had made its appearance. But John here clearly disregards the old Jewish method of reckoning and speaks of both the morning and evening of resurrection day as "the same day," the "first day of the week." Why should we deny to Philo, a Hellenistic, Alexandrian Jew, the right to employ the same current method of expressing himself which is employed by one of the disciples of Jesus? Even if the old method of reckoning were still in force, we could not expect a writer on every occasion when speaking of a day and its evening to mention specifically the fact that two calendrical days were involved, but it would be only natural for him at times to speak of the two as one and the same day although technically two days were actually involved. Notice the following example from a modern Jewish writer, Prof. Julian Morgenstern, on this point:

They fixed the day of the Passover from the 15th, or rather from the night of the 14th. . . . It would seem, the introduction into Palestine of the Babylonian Jewish practice of celebrating the Passover from the night of the 14th through the 21st of Nisan took place somewhat later than 419 B.C.⁷

Professor Morgenstern when speaking here of the passover celebration on the evening following the day termed Nisan 14, twice calls it the "night of the 14th," when strictly speaking it would be the 15th.

So when Philo simply mentions Nisan 14 in this reference where he speaks of both the slaying of the passover and the eating of the paschal meal, it would be far-fetched indeed to use such a natural

⁷ Julian Morgenstern, "The Three Calendars of Ancient Israel," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, III (1926), pp. 82 f.

method of expression as the basis for an argument that the passover in his time was not slain in the afternoon, as he specifically declares it was, and eaten on the evening of the fifteenth. If there were warrant in such an argument in the case of Philo, there would be equal warrant on the basis of John's record concerning resurrection day that Jesus could not have been raised early Sunday morning and have had a meeting with the disciples on Sunday evening, which, however, he specifically indicates was the case.

In regard to the position of the moon at the passover season the testimony of Philo is very clear. Nisan 14 he describes as a time "when the disc of the moon is becoming full,"⁸ but of the following night, the fifteenth, he gives the following details:

With the Crossing-feast he combines one in which the food consumed is of a different and unfamiliar kind, namely, unleavened bread, which also gives its name to the feast. . . . The feast begins at the middle of the month, on the fifteenth day, when the moon is full, a day purposely chosen because then there is no darkness, but everything is continuously lighted up as the sun shines from morning to evening and the moon from evening to morning and while the stars give place to each other no shadow is cast upon their brightness.⁹

According to Philo, then, the night of Nisan 14 is a time when the moon has not yet reached the full, but the night of the 15th is the time when "the moon is full." Later when speaking of the autumnal feast of Tabernacles he once more describes the moon as being full on the 15th:

Again, the beginning of this feast comes on the fifteenth day of the month for the same

reason as was given when we were speaking of the season of spring, namely that the glorious light which nature gives should fill the universe not only by day but also by night, because on that day the sun and moon rise in succession to each other with no interval between their shining, which is not divided by any borderland of darkness.¹⁰

The above references should be carefully noted by any who would today endeavor to theorize concerning the exact phases of the moon on Nisan 14 and 15 in New Testament times. Philo lived at that time and he leaves the specific testimony that it was on the evening of Nisan 15 that the moon was full, "a day purposely chosen because then there is no darkness, but everything is continuously lighted up as the sun shines from morning to evening and the moon from evening to morning."

Josephus will be our next witness concerning the time of the observance of the New Testament passover. This writer makes a number of references to Nisan 14 as the day when the passover was observed.¹¹ And he also specifically mentions the fact that it was in the afternoon that the sacrifices were slain. Referring to the endeavor made by Cestius to determine for Nero the number of people in Jerusalem at the time of the feast of unleavened bread, Josephus says:

Accordingly, on the occasion of the feast called Passover, at which they sacrifice from the ninth to the eleventh hour, and a little fraternity, as it were, gathers round each sacrifice, of not fewer than ten persons (feasting alone not being permitted), while the companies often include as many as twenty, the victims were counted and amounted to two hundred and fifty-five thousand six hundred; allowing an average of ten diners to each vic-

⁸ Philo, Vol. VI, *Moses*, II.xli.224.

⁹ Philo, *Special Laws*, II.xxxviii.150, 155.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, xxxiii.210.

¹¹ *Ant.*, II.xiv.6; III.x.5; XI.iv.8.

tim, we obtain a total of two million seven hundred thousand, all pure and holy.¹²

It will be quite clear from this citation, either from the original Greek or the above translation by Thackeray, that Josephus is here referring to nothing else than the sacrifices of the passover lambs, the number of which is specifically stated. In order to ascertain the census of the Jewish population in Jerusalem on that occasion Cestius took the number of passover sacrificial victims, and from the average of diners to each lamb secured the approximate total of Jews in Jerusalem at the time. There was no discussion by Josephus in this connection of any different types of Jewish sacrifices, and he had no occasion to refer to anything else than the passover victims, for it was from the number of these victims that the desired census of Jerusalem was secured. So when Josephus declares that on the occasion of the passover the sacrifices were offered from the ninth to the eleventh hours, he has reference only to the offering of the passover lambs and nothing else. Any reference to any other type of offerings in this connection would be entirely uncalled for and entirely out of place. And when giving this mid-afternoon hour of Nisan 14 as the time when the passover victims were slain, Josephus is in complete agreement with both Philo and Jubilees.

The witness of John in the New Testament likewise points to a general ob-

servance of the passover on the part of Jewish officialdom in Jerusalem at the time of the crucifixion of Jesus on Friday afternoon and evening of the passion week. John speaks of the Thursday evening of that week as "before the feast of the passover." John 13: 1. And of Friday morning he says: "Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of judgment; and it was early; and they themselves went not into the judgment hall, lest they should be defiled; but that they might eat the passover." John 18: 28. According to this testimony the Jewish officials who condemned Christ to death had not yet eaten the passover on Friday morning, Nisan 14. And if the passover was yet to be slain on the 14th, then evidently it had to be slain on the afternoon of Friday, Nisan 14, and eaten on the evening beginning the 15th. This witness of John is thus in full agreement with the other contemporary witnesses of the period, Jubilees, Philo, and Josephus.

We therefore conclude that the traditional Jewish position that "the animal was slain on the eve of the Passover, on the afternoon of the 14th of Nisan, after the Tamid sacrifice had been killed, i.e., at three o'clock," and that "the lamb was set on the table at the evening banquet,"¹³ Nisan 15, is a correct description of the time of passover observance on the part of the great mass of the Jews from at least the period of about a century before Christ down to our day.

¹² Josephus, Vol. III, *Jewish War*, VI. ix. 3, Tr. by Thackeray. Loeb Classical Library.

¹³ "Passover Sacrifice," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IX, 1905.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Trinity and Christian Devotion. By Charles W. Lowry. New York: Harpers, 1946, pp. xviii + 162. \$1.50.

Dr. Lowry's book was chosen as the Lenten Book for 1946 both by the late William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, and by the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church in this country. Although in size it is among the smallest of the eleven American selections to date, it is perhaps the most important as a contribution to theological thought.

The opening four chapters, almost a unit in themselves, on the doctrine of the Trinity, will be of particular interest to clergy, teachers, and theologians (amateur and otherwise). At the same time, it must be confessed that the average layman will find it pretty hard going. However, perhaps this is all to the good; particularly if it inspires even a few to do some careful studying and thinking.

This section of the book compresses so much original and significant material within a few pages that to treat it fairly would require a more extensive treatment than is permitted here. However, there are three points especially on which the reviewer would like to comment.

First, for the benefit of the curious reader, it should be said that the author finds the most satisfactory approach to an understanding of the Trinity by means of the analogy of community or sociality as set forth, among other analogies, by St. Augustine. This view is the one which is basic to the volume on the same subject by Leonard Hodgson, now Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford.

Secondly, on pages 43 and 44, there appears one of the most penetrating discussions of "authority" and "freedom" to be found in recent theological writing. It is to be hoped that Dr. Lowry will undertake by means of another book the expansion of his insights in this area of theological concern.

Thirdly, there is suggested on pages 63 to 66 a modification of the "act" or "event" theory of revelation and more particularly as it is set forth in William Temple's *Man, Nature and God*. It is the thought of Dr. Lowry that this view, now rather widely held, does not do justice to "the problem of the inspiration and the authoritative significance of the wit-

ness of the Bible." Accordingly, the author develops a theory which sees revelation, as perceived by man, in the following order: event, record (the Bible), and apprehension. Although this suggested scheme has some superficial plausibility, it does not appear necessary, at least to the reviewer, in order to meet the situation which Dr. Lowry has in mind. If the Bible as a whole and in one sense may be regarded as coming within the meaning of the word "event" and at the same time and in another sense as being included within the category "apprehension," then the objection to Temple's theory would seem to be groundless as far as the problem of authority of the Bible is concerned.

Moreover, the introduction of an intermediate term, such as the Bible, between the "event" and the "inspired" response would seem to raise questions as to the possibility of revelation for those people who lived before there was a "record," e.g., during the New Testament period when some were in direct contact with Christ. The same difficulty would be involved also in post-biblical history unless one were willing to restrict the totality of God's revelation to the scriptures.

A detailed criticism of this particular suggestion of the author would be out of place and far too lengthy here so it may suffice to say that, in the opinion of some, Dr. Lowry's proposal would raise more problems than it solves.

The two final chapters of the book, on devotion, worship, and action as related to the doctrine of the Trinity, are a fine exposition of the implications of the doctrine for the life of the Christian. These chapters contain such gems as: "Worship is to religion what play or recreation is to ordinary living."

"The unique and really weighty feature of the Bible is that it is the book, and the one book, in which God is the chief character—in which He acts and speaks to communicate to men that which otherwise they could not and would not know."

"The Faith of the Divine Trinity means—if it means anything—energy and ardor in sending Christian evangelists and prophets and physicians. Such sending is the imitation of God."

"But if Christianity is true—if Jesus Christ was very God of very God made man—and if His pure love and will to sacrifice was an expression in temporal act of the eternal social life of God, then love must inform justice, brotherhood is a fundamental political principle, and the goal of all society, in the family, the city, the nation-state, the world, is fellowship and cooperation. Yes, we may even say, we are bound to say, the issue of the Trinitarian being of God is crucial for the Charter and League or Association of the United Nations. . . . For when we confess the faith of the Church in the Holy Trinity, we affirm our belief that God is Himself the archetype of all community, all fellowship, all love."

The author in one place says, "Of all the Christian doctrines that of the Trinity is perhaps most suspect. It connotes not only a mystery, but one that is unnecessary. It suggests a dull enigma, a riddle that is not even interesting." Well, Dr. Lowry has made it *interesting*, even fascinating. And no higher praise can be given his book than that.

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Christ the Lord: The Meaning of Jesus in the Early Church. By John Knox. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Co., 1945, pp. xiv + 146. \$1.75.

During the last century clergy and laymen alike have been much perplexed by the problem of relating the Jesus of history to the Christ of the creeds; and some have made shipwreck. Like his colleague, Dr. Grant, whose book is reviewed below, Professor Knox is alive to the problem and to the urgency of finding the solution. Many have received help from his earlier volume, *The Man Christ Jesus*. In these Ayer Lectures, delivered at Colgate-Rochester, they will find the New Testament doctrines of the person and work of Christ treated more fully. They will be impressed by the author's rigorous intellectual honesty and depth of his religious apprehension. Dr. Knox knows that it is essential to get the facts, but "if there is such a thing as a 'bare fact,' certainly we cannot know one. . . . History and interpretation, distinguishable in idea, cannot in fact be separated. . . . There can be no true historical understanding of the Bible which is

not also devotional, or religious, or theological" (pp. 3 f.).

So much for what might be called Dr. Knox's epistemology and approach. It may be helpful to summarize some of his historical conclusions. (1) Jesus believed that God had an eternal kingship, that in some measure men could come under God's rule in this life, that the Kingdom in its completeness was to be a future supernatural order, and that, finally, the supernatural Kingdom was beginning to be manifested in his own life and deeds and words (pp. 25-30). Thus Knox's point of view is similar to that of Rudolf Otto. (2) Jesus rejected the current political idea of Messiahship. Instead he spoke of the coming of the Son of Man in the future, and (to use the words of Héring, which Knox quotes) "He was in a mysterious way aware of a future identity between his own person and that of the Son of Man" (p. 42; for a contrasting opinion, see Grant's *The Gospel of the Kingdom*, pp. 66-68, 154 f.). Knox is not certain that this proposition is strictly accurate but thinks that it points in the right direction. He remarks, moreover, that for theology the essential point is not "What title did Jesus apply to himself?" but "What is his relation to the Kingdom of God?" (p. 43 f.). (3) Jesus did not teach an interim ethic, but the pure will of God without compromise or concession; however, "his clear vision of it was perhaps not unrelated to his expectation of the imminent coming of the Kingdom" (pp. 49-51). The ethical life which Jesus exalts is that of penitence and faith (p. 53). (4) Our gospel tradition is fundamentally trustworthy because Jesus' actual personal character was remembered (p. 55 f.). (5) In discussing the development of Christology, Knox first recognizes the presence of adoptionism and the incarnation doctrine of John. But—and this is the most strikingly new element in the book—Paul's preëxistence doctrine is not merely a further development beyond adoptionism. Such passages as Phil. 2: 6-11 speak of the human nature of Jesus and his exaltation but first presuppose his preëxistence (cf. II Cor. 8: 9; Rom. 15: 3). St. Paul was able to take for granted the acceptance of such an idea, which indeed is essential to the Son of Man doctrine, and Knox finds in Mark 10: 45; 12: 35-37; 1: 2,

and elsewhere, evidence that Mark implies pre-existence.

Here one may express some doubt that 1: 2 was originally part of the text of Mark. Would it not be better to point to the story of the cleansing of the Temple? There Jesus may be somehow identified with the Lord who suddenly comes to his Temple and purges it of its abuses (Mal. 3: 1). Incidentally, Bacon's theory of a Wisdom Christology in Q may furnish further support for Knox's position.

Finally, one may call attention to some wise words on the authority of the Bible and the Church and the originality of Jesus' teaching (pp. 68-75). Professor Knox's book is welcome because the questions with which it deals are absolutely vital.

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The Practice of Religion. By Frederick C. Grant. New York: Macmillan, 1946, pp. iv + 271. \$2.50.

It is too often true today that the biblical scholar does not write theology (except technical "biblical theology") and that the theologian has not wrestled profoundly with problems of biblical criticism. Therefore it is an occasion for rejoicing when a mature and seasoned New Testament specialist turns his attention to the whole broad field of theology and gives us a book in which Bible and theology are focussed on religious practice.

The title of the book is not altogether precise: it is the practice of the Christian religion, as continuous with Hebraism and as known to us through the historic Church, that is the subject of discussion (p. 182 f.). Dr. Grant begins with definitions of this religion and its practice, and then considers its relation to such topics as morality, communion, sin, suffering, mysticism, the Church, the social goal, and immortality. The words "thoroughly Anglican" best describe his approach. He finds food for the religious life in the great Catholic tradition of the past, and he is equally sympathetic with the interests of Protestant and Catholic mystics, the reformers, and the social activists. He looks forward to the Catholic Church of the future, which he believes will combine reverence for the past, freedom of thought, variety of worship, lay participation, and social relevance. He frankly distrusts

what he considers to be anti-rational elements in the new Protestant orthodoxy; yet he is frankly Pauline in his anti-Pelagian insistence that man must be completely dependent upon grace which comes from outside himself. This is just the *via media* which one finds in the Prayer Book collects. And Dr. Grant draws more heavily on the Hebraic than on the Hellenistic tradition, though he knows and loves both.

The heart of the book, or at least the key to the understanding of Dr. Grant's theology, is in the second and third chapters. He begins with the religion of Jesus himself (pp. 19-21); and, no matter how highly one values the Pauline and Johannine contributions, it is impossible to resist the claim that this is uniquely normative for Christians, the more so when one realizes that Jesus' religion gathers together and sums up the best of the Hebrew-Jewish tradition. For our Lord, religion is life controlled by the consciousness of God (p. 22); one has only to read the parables and their rabbinic parallels to realize the truth and power of this idea. The problem is to establish this control over the life of the Christian believer. The basic formula is: "Sacrifice whatever in your present life forms an obstacle to this control. Then relax and let God take possession of you" (p. 24). Christian practice is a combination of struggle and relaxation (p. 34 f.).

The remainder of the book is in one way or another related to these fundamental themes. This reviewer, as a pupil of Dr. Grant, is so sympathetic with his ideas that he would best restrain himself from further encomia and conclude the review with a list of the passages which especially appealed to him. These are: pp. 13, 82-88 (the personality and freedom of God, and the relation of these ideas to Christology); p. 104 f. (suffering and prayer); p. 155 f. (Jesus' attitude to the Cross); pp. 172, 180 f. (the relation between the ordinary spiritual life and mysticism); pp. 192, 196 (Christianity as a social and Catholic religion); pp. 221 f., 230 (the application of Christianity to social problems); p. 250 (immortality; a subject on which Dr. Grant has already published a book). Further analysis can be left to the reader.

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON

Episcopal Theological School

The Christian Future, or The Modern Mind Outrun. By Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy. New York: Scribners, 1946, pp. xii + 248. \$2.50.

The modern age is unique in the fact that never before have periods of cultural transition attracted such a number of analysts, all of whom, regardless of the particular bases upon which they are evaluating society, are engaged in making a religious interpretation of it. A combination of factors—the international breakdown of traditional economic theory and practice during a half-century of confusion, two world wars, a period of world-wide unemployment, etc., and the flight to American shores of a number of significant intellectual exiles, have given the kind of cultural analysis now being published a very distinctive flavor.

Professor Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy, of Dartmouth College, belongs in the general category of German philosopher-theologians who, coming to the United States, have found their experience of both the continental crisis and the American academic world the necessary stimulus for a penetrating study of the plight of Western culture in these times. There is a wide variety of opinion between these men, but the significant fact is that each has, in his own way, brought what amounts to a religious insight to bear upon data from the consideration of which religious criteria had been deliberately eliminated in respectable intellectual circles. If for no other reason (and there are many other reasons) America should be grateful to its intellectual refugees for reintroducing our thinking world to categories of profound importance, the meaning of which had been rather ignored.

While the general category of analysts just described has tended to make a religious interpretation of Western culture in an implicit way, Dr. Rosenstock-Huessy, who is professor of social philosophy at Dartmouth, has done so explicitly and overtly. And the result is a delightful book, in which there is perhaps the best collection of epigrammatic definitions, giving concrete cultural relevance to familiar theological and philosophical terms, that this reviewer has ever seen. But the book is much more than that. It is a profound interpretation of modern life by one who shows himself to be acutely sensitive to meanings which are

too often superficially realized through scientific media.

In the view of the author, the great cultural and religious problem of the modern age is to bring together into fruitful relationship "the warrior and the thinker," or in other words, the doer and the planner, so that as a result a new community of the spirit will be erected in which men may live creatively. The symptom of their lack of fruitful relationship is found, first of all, in the contrast between the suburb—the frame of reference for modern living in which personality is anaesthetized against the problems of reality—and the factory—the frame of reference for modern production in which personality is submerged in processes. Modern man is only himself, so to speak, while commuting from suburb to work, and then he is himself at the expense of being disengaged from relevant contact. The problem, so symptomized, is brought to a head by the confused understanding of so many young men in the armed services as to why they were engaged in the war, since the relationship of their own lives to the movements of the world was generally inarticulate. And again, it was brought to a head by the abstract irrelevance of scientific thought—from education, as typified by the Deweyites, to the mathematical scientists—to the needs of the modern world.

As the answer to the indictment brought against modern culture, the author offers the Cross, as the description of man's life, in his appreciation of his problems. The four arms of the Cross symbolize the relationships of future and past, of outward and inward. The tendency of the modern world is to ignore the fact that man must live at the center of the Cross rather than take refuge on one or more of the arms to the exclusion of its opposite. But there is a price to be paid when one lives at the center of the Cross, the price of realizing that death must antecede birth, and that charity must be the nexus between outward and inward.

The result of the author's prophetic view of the demands of modern culture is typified by the following quotation: "Now the new economic theory would realize that man is not an entrepreneur or a wage earner solely but that he also is the founder and soldier of the same society in which he must be able to make a living. With the camping mind of the returning

soldier [the camping mind is the author's expression for eschatological thinking], the nature of man whom economics contemplates would have changed. This man now reproduces society as well as he produces within society. He gives life to the social order and he makes a living. He must be used in this dual capacity by any economic system which deserves the name at all."

Aside from its interesting analysis of the plight of modern society, in which the irrelevance of the thinker is largely the result of his failure to think eschatologically and the confusion of the soldier is the result of his failure to realize that only death can produce birth, the author's definitions make interesting reflection. Here are a few: "Reason is objective and gives us security. Faith is selective and has a sense of the important." "Fatherhood is rethinking the world in the light of one's children." "The story of salvation is the advance of the singular against the plural." "The Church is the unified soul of man as far as he is capable of freedom."

This book will be disturbing to some who would like to go along with its main thesis. Its paradigmatic use of the Cross—with a repudiation of both the mythological interpretation and the strictly Biblical—will annoy those who are primarily existential on the one hand, and the incarnationists on the other. One wonders whether the author has really rejected either, or whether he is not actually being both mythological and incarnational in a dialectical way. Again, traditionalists will not like his definition of the resurrection—"The two central acts in Jesus' biography which made him the beginner of the new era were his death for being the founder of the Messianic Kingdom and his resurrection as an inspired body of all who wanted to die and rise again with him daily."

It is very hard to classify the author precisely in terms of theological and philosophical schools of thought, and perhaps that is a good thing. He shows unmistakable indications of his background in Continental criticism, particularly the influence of the Kierkegaardians. At the same time, however, he is in far less violent tension with American liberal Protestantism than many of his contemporaries.

The chief criticism which this reviewer would level against a valuable book is that the au-

thor's own ability to state things epigrammatically sometimes gives the impression that the reader is being led very fast over thin ice. Certain aspects of his analysis need fuller treatment.

CHARLES D. KEAN

Grace Church, Kirkwood, Mo.

The Apocryphal Literature: A Brief Introduction. By Charles Cutler Torrey. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945, pp. x + 151. \$3.00.

The title of this manual refers to all the extant Jewish "outside books," not only the "apocrypha" of the King James version, but also the so-called "pseudepigrapha." Dr. Torrey begins with a General Introduction which recounts the vicissitudes of these books from the time of their composition to the present day, with special attention to the controversy which centered in the British and Foreign Bible Society. This section gathers together a great deal of information with which many students of the Bible are not very familiar. The second part of the book is a special introduction to about thirty documents. Although we possess good manuals to the "fourteen books called Apocrypha," there exists in English very little convenient material on the remaining books save for the introductions in Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*. Such a treatise is therefore timely and welcome and will be used widely.

Dr. Torrey's treatment is individual and independent, as the following examples will show. (1) The Three Guardsmen story of I Esdras was not originally part of the Chronicler's history, but it was contained in the only form of the history in circulation in the first century A. D. and was excised only when the canonical text was formed a century later. Both the present Ezra-Nehemiah and I Esdras must thus be used in reconstructing the text (p. 48). (2) The original book of Esther contained also most of the parts now extant only in Greek, and our canonical Hebrew is a late abridgement (p. 58). (3) Books iv and v of the Sibylline Oracles make use of the canonical Book of Revelation (p. 109). (4) The Son of Man doctrine of Enoch had been "taken for granted by all the Jews for two or three centuries past" (p. 111). (5) An Apocalypse of Shealtiel was written in the time of the em-

peror Otho. This book was extensively used in the Apocalypse of Baruch, composed very shortly after Otho's time, and it later emerges as the principal component of II Esdras (IV Ezra), which should be dated in the reign of Domitian (pp. 116-126). (6) The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Book of Adam and Eve were written early in the first century A. D. (pp. 131-133). (7) The "Martyrdom of Isaiah" never existed as a separate document, but some Jewish traditions may have been used in the composition of the Ascension of Isaiah (p. 133 f.). The book rounds up many other interesting suggestions which Dr. Torrey and others have made in previous publications, and in one respect it is more complete than Charles' great work, for it includes the Lives of the Prophets and the Testament of Job.

Though Dr. Torrey's manual represents the work of many years, and he has worked patiently through the basic literature in the field, one is disappointed that he does not even mention some recent publications, for example Oesterley's *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha* (London, 1935) and Goodspeed's *The Story of the Apocrypha* (Chicago, 1939). It would have been interesting, too, if he had discussed Olmstead's provocative "Intertestamental Studies" (*Journal of the American Oriental Society* LVI [1936] 242-251), for probably no one in America is more competent than Dr. Torrey to do so. What, for example, would he say to Olmstead's identification of Bethulia with Modin and his placing of Judith in the reign of Antiochus Sidetes, or to the attractive theory that the Greek additions to Esther are pro-Parthian and dated about the same time? One also regrets that in dating Jubilees so late he has ignored the diametrically opposed views expressed by Solomon Zeitlin in *The Book of Jubilees: Its Character and Significance* (Philadelphia, 1939).

A few other points are worthy of mention. (1) The term "deuterocanonical," proposed in 1566 to denote books which once had been questioned, but which the Council of Trent certified (p. 34), is used by many Roman Catholic scholars to describe the books not contained in the Hebrew canon; see J. E. Steinmüller, *A Companion to Scripture Studies* (New York, 1941), I, 47. (2) Torrey's dating of the Apocalypse of Baruch is further con-

firmed by parallels between its prophecies and Josephus' account of the fall of Jerusalem; see my notes in this REVIEW, XXI (1939), 205 f., XXII (1940), 330 f. (3) Ralph Marcus, *Josephus* VII (Cambridge, Mass., 1943), p. 334, n., agrees with Torrey that Josephus had access to the whole of I Maccabees. (4) Torrey thinks that Christians found the Prayer of Manasseh in Greek translation in Egypt in the second or third century (p. 69). He also calls attention to the peculiarity of verses 4 f.: *ὅν πάντα ἐπίσσει καὶ τρέμει ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεως σου*. I have noticed some interesting parallels to this in the Acts of John 23 (*ὅν ἐφοβήθη πᾶς ἀρχὼν κτλ.*) and 79 (*ὅν δαίμονες ἀκούοντες ἐπλήτρουσαν*); cf. also James 2: 19. Does the author of the Acts know the Prayer of Manasseh, or is this simply standard liturgical language? (5) According to Torrey, 13 of the documents were originally in Aramaic, and 10 Hebrew. The only native Greek books were II, III, and IV Maccabees, Wisdom 11-19, and the Sibylline Oracles.

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON

Episcopal Theological School

Rufinus of Aquileia (345-411), His Life and Works. By Francis X. Murphy. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1945, pp. xviii + 248.

Dr. Murphy's dissertation on Rufinus is a highly competent and much-needed work. It brings together the results of criticism regarding Rufinus' literary accomplishments, makes some fresh contributions to the problems of chronology of his life, and by its overall review of his activities makes it possible for one to gain a just and appreciative view of his services to the Church of his time. No longer will it be excusable to see Rufinus through Jerome's melancholy invective. Dr. Murphy's detailed and clear account of the controversy over Origen defends the sincerity of both major parties and demonstrates quite clearly that "in reality, the two men were agreed on their attitude toward Origen. Their misunderstandings were due to the machinations of their friends." The author also points out the good sense of Rufinus in accepting the advice of his bishop not to continue an unequal clash with his former friend, but to continue fearlessly adhering to his principles, for which "the modern world owes its possession of a good part

of the works of the great Alexandrian churchman, Origen." The fact that Rufinus' translation of the *Periarchon*, rather than Jerome's more exact and literal rendering, has survived, is indicative of what Rufinus' own age considered of more service to religion.

A few points of interest in this study may be noted in passing. Rufinus arrived in Alexandria shortly after the death of Athanasius. He probably met Melania there, but did not accompany her on her pilgrimage among the desert monks. He did not join her in Jerusalem until about 380. Their monastery on the Mount of Olives was the first ascetic foundation by Latins in the Holy Land. It is worth noting that Rufinus engaged his monks in copying manuscripts—thus anticipating Cassiodorus. Jerome's sour remarks about the lack of strictness and rigor in the Jerusalem house stem from contrasting outlooks regarding monastic discipline. Rufinus leaned towards the Basilian tradition, Jerome towards the Pachomian—note their respective translations of Basil's and Pachomius' rules. It was Rufinus' Latin version of the Basilian rules that St. Benedict was later to use. Thus Rufinus has an important place in the development of Western monasticism.

MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR.

Episcopal Theological School

Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia. By Wolf Leslau. New York: The New York Public Library, 1946, pp. 94, with a Linguistic Map and two facsimiles.

Though Christianity entered Ethiopia in the fourth century, and for over a thousand years the country has been an isolated Christian kingdom resisting the encroachments of Islam in an area that is aggressively Islamic, there is still very little interest in western lands in this interesting and heroic, if somewhat backward, Christian community. Yet its history, however unimportant for the most part to the secular historian, is of considerable interest as a chapter of church history, and in particular of the history of the monophysite churches. In recent years its history has been a troubled one. For many centuries its ecclesiastical connection has been with the Coptic Church of Egypt, and the Abuna, or head of the Abyssinian Church, has been regularly an Egyptian

consecrated by the Coptic Patriarch at Cairo, but Rome has been unceasing in its efforts to control the Abyssinian Church, and the Italian adventure in Abyssinia was attended by considerable interference in the ecclesiastical affairs of the country. With the driving out of the Italians there has come a revival of nationalistic feeling, and while there is no desire to break entirely the Egyptian connection, there is a determination to have the head of the church a native Abyssinian. There is great hope that this revival of nationalistic enthusiasm may have other effects and result also in a demand for wider education and considerable reformation in local ecclesiastical affairs.

Probably most readers are aware that the liturgical language of the Abyssinian Church is a Semitic language, a tongue which they call Ge'ez, but which we call Ethiopic, and known as the language in which such books as *Ethiopic Enoch*, the *Book of Jubilees*, and the *Ethiopic Didascalia* are written. What is not so generally known, however, is that a goodly proportion of the modern spoken dialects of the land are also Semitic languages. It is true that being spoken by peoples for the most part of non-Semitic origin, whose ancestors when they took over the Semitic speech spoke it in the fashion of their very different speech habits, the Semitic of Abyssinia has come to be very different from Semitic as spoken elsewhere, and in particular is full of non-Semitic vocabulary derived from the local areas, yet it is a genuine branch of the Semitic family, and has an interest all its own for students of comparative grammar.

One reason why Abyssinian studies are not so popular as they might be is that there is a strange dearth of those aids to study which are available in the other branches of Semitic language and literature. A pertinent illustration of this is the fact that here in the U. S. A. is a most important collection of Ethiopic manuscripts, a collection made some forty years ago by the eminent scholar Enno Littmann, and though this collection, which compares very favorably with some of the famous collections in Europe, is housed in no less famous a place than Princeton University, there is not yet even a hand list, let alone a proper catalogue, of this collection available for the consultation of interested students. Several of the larger libraries in this country have not unimportant

collections of printed material pertinent to Abyssinian studies, but there is little help available to students who would care to investigate this material. It is because of an awareness of this lack, especially in view of an awakening interest in the Abyssinian area, that the New York Public Library commissioned Dr. Wolf Leslau to prepare this present bibliography.

The plan of the bibliography is linguistic, for Dr. Leslau is a linguist, and is primarily interested in the linguistic problems of this branch of Semitic studies, but he has conceived his plan on so wide a basis that his bibliography is a first class working tool for all students interested in the field of Abyssinian studies, and is sure to take its place as an indispensable guide book. By reason of its plan the arrangement of the material in its broad outline is that of the modern classification of the Ethiopic languages, viz., *North Ethiopic*, which covers Ge'ez, the old ecclesiastical language, which is Ethiopic proper, and which died out as a spoken language about the fourteenth century, though it is still used as the language of the liturgy and ecclesiastical documents; *Tigré*, spoken along the coastal area in the extreme north of Abyssinia, and on the island of Dahlak; and *Tigrña*, in the more inland parts of northern Abyssinia and Eritrea; *South Ethiopic*, which includes Amharic, the present Governmental language; Argobba, spoken in two dialects to the south of the Amharic area where it borders on areas of Galla speech; Gafat, which has now disappeared as a spoken language; Guragué, spoken to the south west of Addis-Abeba, in country bordering on the area of Sidamo speech; and Harari, spoken in Harar, over towards the Somaliland areas.

Under these broader divisions Dr. Leslau has arranged his material under a group of sub-heads, again primarily linguistic—Phonetics, Grammars, Dictionaries, etc.; but as he has included texts, special vocabularies, special discussions, and the collections of proverbs, riddles and such cultural material, he really has a great deal of carefully digested material that is of service to all students interested in the field. He has made an attempt to include all relevant material from the early fifteen hundreds to the present day, and has done a further inestimable service in indicating the important reviews of

many of these works that have appeared from the pens of eminent Semitists, and which are often of as much value as the original work itself.

The work has been excellently printed and has an elaborate author index at the end which greatly facilitates its use. The one complaint that the reviewer has is that the linguistic map, which is reproduced from Meillet and Cohen, *Les Langues du monde*, is too small to be very useful. It is of interest to note that the vast majority of works referred to in the Bibliography are available in the New York Public Library, so that this publication serves as a guide to its own collections as well as a convenient reference book for students.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

Columbia University

What Is Christian Civilization? By John Baillie. New York: Scribners, 1945, pp. 59. \$1.00.

The three chapters that make up this book were delivered as lectures at the University of Durham in the spring of 1945 and some of the material was used in lectures in this country last summer. Dr. Baillie sets himself two questions—"In what sense can we speak of 'Christian Civilization,'?" and "What should be the attitude of the Christian Church toward it?" He traces the history of the attitude of the Christian Church toward the secular order from the early days when the Church, small and persecuted, was outside of and set in opposition to the secular order, through the time of Constantine when, for the first time the question arose "What should a Christian do when he is a ruler?", through the Middle Ages when the secular order was under the domination of the Church, to our own day of "open Christian civilization."

He points out that all that is good in Western civilization to-day has grown out of this history, but that to a large extent the people of the so-called Christian countries have given up the beliefs in which this civilization had its roots. He insists that Christian civilization cannot survive unless it regains its basis in Christian belief. At the same time, he holds that Western civilization can be called "Christian" in that it had its source in Christianity and its purposes are set by Christian ideals. He maintains that this "diffused Christianity"

is all to the good as far as it goes. The Church will fail in its task if it regards itself as a separate group in the midst of a pagan world. The task of the Church is rather to bring our "Christian civilization" back to its basis in Christian belief and to work through the secular order, imperfect though it is, toward a better Christian order—always remembering that the perfect Christian order is eternal, and can never be fully realized in history.

In the fifty-nine pages that make up this book will be found a wealth of valuable historical material illuminated by penetrating insights. It provides a wise, scholarly and sound basis for further thinking on further questions having to do with the relation between the Christian Church and the secular order.

CHARLES L. STREET

St. Christopher's Church, Oak Park, Ill.

Manufacture of Christianity. By Thomas Albert. Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1946, pp. 177. \$1.75.

This little book is no less ingenious and no more perverse than many studies set forth with more critical apparatus by other higher critics since Strauss and Bruno Bauer. "It pictures, entirely in the first person, the sly thoughts which probably passed through the mind of Matthew as he wrote his account of Christ and tried to make it everywhere an 'improvement' on the one previously written by Luke" (p. vii). Matthew is a "scribe and rabbi" (p. 9), a "rabbi-bishop" (p. 23), who has the same name as the "publican-disciple" of Christ (p. 62). Writing in Alexandria (pp. 1, 19) for a "prosperous church" (p. 34) of "metropolitan parishioners" (p. 32), he takes the unplanned, Pentecostal gospel of Luke (p. 89), rewriting it and "cleverly distorting everything to make it agree with his own personal prejudices, his own bigoted opinions, his own racial views and his own ecclesiastical interests" (p. vii).

On what grounds does Matthew make his re-

construction? He uses the gospel of Luke (p. 9) and "old traditions" (p. 11)—which apparently coincide with his written source. This written source is not associated with Acts, for while he knows of the experiences of "early pentecostal Christians" (p. 93) his knowledge is seemingly from hearsay, for he says that "Luke records somewhere in another book of his" (p. 175) the story of the ascension. Nevertheless Matthew is sufficiently acute to analyze Luke's source for the Beatitudes as a "fanatical" or "Old" poem (pp. 34-48) and to realize that Luke 6: 37-42 is "an old Parable" (p. 50). On the basis of such analyses he can say, just as if he were a modern critic, "the elaborate dating Luke gives looks suspiciously like . . ." (p. 23) or "Jesus, of course, never . . ." (p. 79).

Certain conclusive objections must be made to the authenticity of Matthew's autobiography, however. We may overlook the theory that Mark "must have been written last" (p. vii), or the idea that Matthew's Hebrew book was based on "this Greek manuscript" of Luke (p. 9). But the studies of T. Soiron, *Die Logia Jesu* (Münster, 1916) and J. Jeremias (in ZNW 29 [1930], 147-49) show with a very high degree of probability that both Matthew and Luke used oral sources which had been handed down in sequences often determined by verbal association. And these sequences, rather than conscious alterations, are frequently responsible for the differences between the gospels.

One need hold no high regard for Matthew's ability as an historian to believe that there is more to his work than self-conscious "legend-changing, tradition-revising" (p. vii). He is not primarily an historian, but a catechist and rabbinical teacher (see E. von Dobschütz in ZNW 27 [1928], 338-48); it is in the light of his background as a Jewish teacher that he must sympathetically be studied.

ROBERT M. GRANT

The University of the South

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

His Body the Church. By W. Norman Pittenger. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1945, pp. viii + 158. \$2.50.

This book is a masterly presentation of the traditional conception of the Catholic Church. The Church is a "divine creation," the New Israel of God. "The result of the fact of Christ was the fact of the Church." There is, the author believes, a four-fold test by which to determine what is the historic Church: (1) the Nicene Creed, (2) the eucharist as central, and baptism, (3) the Christian quality of life including the "sacramental exercise of absolution by the priesthood," and (4) the ordered ministry. It is to be noted that he has added the sacrament of penance to the generally received Anglican doctrine. The author's remarks on the supremacy of the Pope in a reunited Church will not be well received by many. The book is clearly and simply written. The chapters on The Holiness of the Church, The Body of Christ as the Worshipping Community, and The Faith Which the Church Proclaims, are especially fine. It must be pointed out, however, that Father Pittenger does at times depart from the distinctly historic Anglican doctrine.

P. S. K.

The Eleven Religions and Their Proverbial Lore. By Selwyn G. Champion. New York: Dutton, 1945, pp. 345. \$3.75.

This is a most unusual religious book. Originally published in England but now reprinted in a special American edition, it is a reference book of the proverbs of the great religious traditions compiled to permit comparative study. Each of the world's great religions is given a separate section and each is preceded by a comprehensive introduction by a recognized authority. These introductions are, perhaps, the book's best feature. Each is a brief history of the faith plus an interpretation of it. All of them are strictly objective and amazingly free from propaganda or proselytizing. The poorest feature of this otherwise most valuable book is the general introduction. The writer's theory is that all religions have fundamentally the same ethical code, which he calls reciprocity. This is, of course, untrue, since

many faiths have almost contradictory ethical standards of conduct affecting daily life. This introduction is the only flaw in a work that will be of incomparable interest to the student of religion or of comparative culture.

P. S. K.

Where Art Thou? By C. Avery Mason. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1945, pp. viii + 152. \$1.50.

This book consists of six essays on the meaning of freedom in human life. The author believes that there is a tremendous power latent and dormant among the laity, which, utilized to the full, would insure the stability of our society and transform Christendom. The book is a challenge to laymen to be propagators of the faith and not merely defenders. The chapter headings are: The Stream of Life Goes On, God and Man in a Time Like This, Christian Nurture is a Practical Matter, The Social Implications of Christian Worship, Do We Own What We Have?, and God Called You. Small in size, but meaty and stimulating, the clergy would profit greatly by first reading it and then distributing it as widely as possible among sincere laymen.

P. S. K.

G. I. Parson. By Francis W. Read. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1945, pp. x + 117. \$1.50.

This "true story," a first-hand account of the experiences of a G. I. parson of the highest type, will be read with real pleasure by all. The author reports his experience from his induction and training period, through the battle of Attu, the occupation of Kiska, and the battle of Kwajalein. It is a fascinating account, it shows us the real G. I.'s at war, and is, incidentally, a fine testimonial to the unselfishly brave work of a sincere priest and chaplain.

P. S. K.

A Knight There Was. By Mary England. New York: Macmillan, 1945, pp. 60. \$1.00.

This is a short novel. It is a story of a mother and a father and a boy; his growing up, his going to school, and his going to war.

It is a story of courageous hearts laid bare. Not all parents are as brave as these parents, and not all boys are as responsive. There is, however, a clear-cut development of thought in this beautifully written little book which deserves a wide reading. It might be confidently recommended to any who have lost a boy.

P. S. K.

Everyman's Religion. By Kenneth D. MacKenzie. New York: Morehouse-Gorham, 1945, pp. viii + 85. \$0.80.

This little book purports to be a simple explanation of the Creed and the Church Catechism. It is just that. It will prove of real value to a teen-age Confirmation class, but it is questionable whether individuals more mature would be attracted by its ultra-simplicity. Questions which might be raised by an adult mind are not faced, and its title certainly does not apply to the material contained in it.

P. S. K.

Christianity in Crisis. By Eric Montizambert. Louisville: Cloister Press, 1945, pp. xii + 224. \$2.00.

In five interesting chapters the author sets forth an interpretation of Christianity and its rôle in the world today. Beginning with the contemporary estimate of Christianity as it is found among students and faculties of a preponderant number of colleges and universities of the country, there is developed a defense of and an argument for the reasonableness of the Creed (called by the author "The Symbol") and the individual's commitment to the life and thought for which the Creed stands. The book does not represent an "original approach," but is a well balanced restatement of a somewhat familiar viewpoint.

It is likely that this volume prepared, apparently, for popular consumption, would have value particularly for college students and young men and women planning to go to college. As a summary of a great deal of the current thinking by informed Christians it is a good antidote to the superficialities and "sophomorisms" of much that passes as scientific thinking among college undergraduates, their teachers, and others.

A. D. K.

The Light of Faith. By Albert W. Palmer. New York: Macmillan, 1945, pp. x + 156. \$1.75.

Dr. Palmer writes an outline of religious thought for laymen. He brings a readable style and a wealth of illustration to his task, but it is a question whether the layman is ever led beyond religio-ethical rationalism to the distinctive affirmations of Christian faith. A few examples will set the spirit of the author. He writes off the Neo-Orthodox theologians because (p. 26) "they propose a retreat to what they conceive to be the sterner, more authoritative gospel of three hundred years ago." The divinity of Jesus is established on the ground that (p. 81) "we find nothing in him for which we need to apologize." The church is called divine (p. 87) "insofar as it has incarnated the conscience of mankind." Forgiveness becomes a *quid pro quo* transaction and the attempt to bring forgiveness into correlation with the atonement is called magic (pp. 44 f.). The book is an outline of religious thought; it is not an outline of the Christian faith in any accepted historic sense of the words.

W. J. W.

The Liturgy of the Church of Scotland since the Reformation. By Stephen A. Hurlbut. Part II. The Book of Common Order, Commonly Known as Knox's Liturgy. Washington: St. Alban's Press, 1945, pp. 35-64. \$1.00.

The first fascicle of Mr. Hurlbut's work on the Scottish liturgy was reviewed in these pages in the issue of October, 1944 (XXVI, 264). All that we said then in praise of its scholarship, craftsmanship and usefulness could be repeated again. This second part reprints from the first Scottish Book of Common Order the portions dealing with the Sunday Morning service and "The Manner of the Administration of the Lord's Supper." Mr. Hurlbut uses varying type faces to bring out the sources—Calvin's *Forme des prières*, Knox's Genevan liturgy, and the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. In introduction and notes, Mr. Hurlbut gives us his customarily apt and dependable comments. A useful table of dates and outline of Scottish Church History from 1560 to 1712 is appended. If you have not yet

obtained this fascinating and beautiful work, write Mr. Hurlbut at once, c/o Washington Cathedral Library.

M. H. S., JR.

Sunday in Roman Paganism. By Robert Leo Odom. Washington: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1944, pp. 272.

This study of the planetary week in ancient civilizations is a very interesting example of what an amateur scholar can do. One can only admire the quantities of material Mr. Odom has garnered from the "musty tomes" to which he refers (p. 8; and see the bibliography, pp. 260-72). But his work is an attempt to show that the Christian Sunday is a purely pagan festival, bound up with astrology because of its planetary origin, and contrary to the revealed holy day of the Sabbath. Such a thesis, which bears a strong resemblance to a kind of *Religionsgeschichte* fashionable a generation ago, overlooks two points. First, the Jewish Sabbath in its origins was apparently not unrelated to "new moons"; and more important, Sunday is the feast of the resurrection of Christ; it is the true Lord's Day for Christians (see Ignatius to the Magnesians ix.1, Didache xiv.1, and W. Foerster in *Theologisches Wörterbuch* III 1095 f., s.v. κυριακή).

R. M. G.

Frank H. Nelson of Cincinnati. By Warren C. Herrick. Louisville: Cloister Press, 1945, pp. x + 110. \$1.00.

Proverbially, no man is a hero to his valet, and we of the clergy must regretfully admit

that it is at best rare when a rector is a hero to his assistants. Frank Nelson was a glorious exception to this rule, and the author of this admiring memoir speaks, I am sure, not only for himself but also for many another who ministered under Dr. Nelson at Christ Church, Cincinnati, and recognized in his rector the warm heart, the will for righteousness, the leadership which kindled in others the flame of service to church and community. Mr. Herrick has written the inspiring story of a great Christian minister in a way which merits the gratitude of Dr. Nelson's many friends, and his book should be in the hands of young men who are wondering whether the ministry is their vocation.

N. B. N.

The Incarnation of the Word of God. Being the Treatise of St. Athanasius *De Incarnatione Verbi Dei* newly translated into English by a Religious of C.S.M.V. With an Introduction by C. S. Lewis. New York: Macmillan, 1946, pp. 96. \$1.50.

The reviewer's task has really been done by Mr. Lewis who says, "This is a good translation of a very great book." The seven pages of the introduction are packed with the cleverly expressed good sense which we have come to expect from C. S. Lewis. There is a promise that if this book succeeds other translations "will presumably follow." One hopes that both condition and conclusion may be fulfilled.

W. F. W.

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